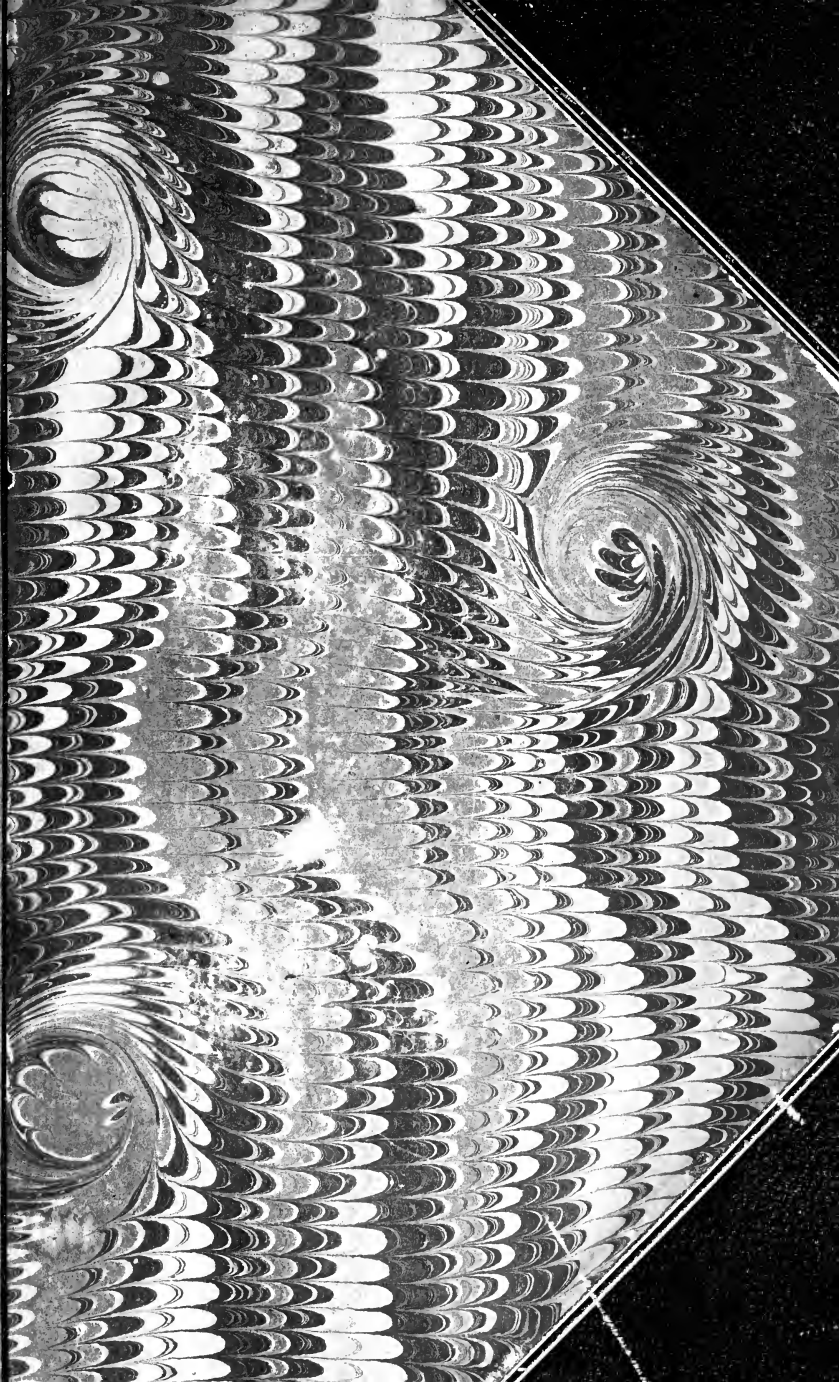
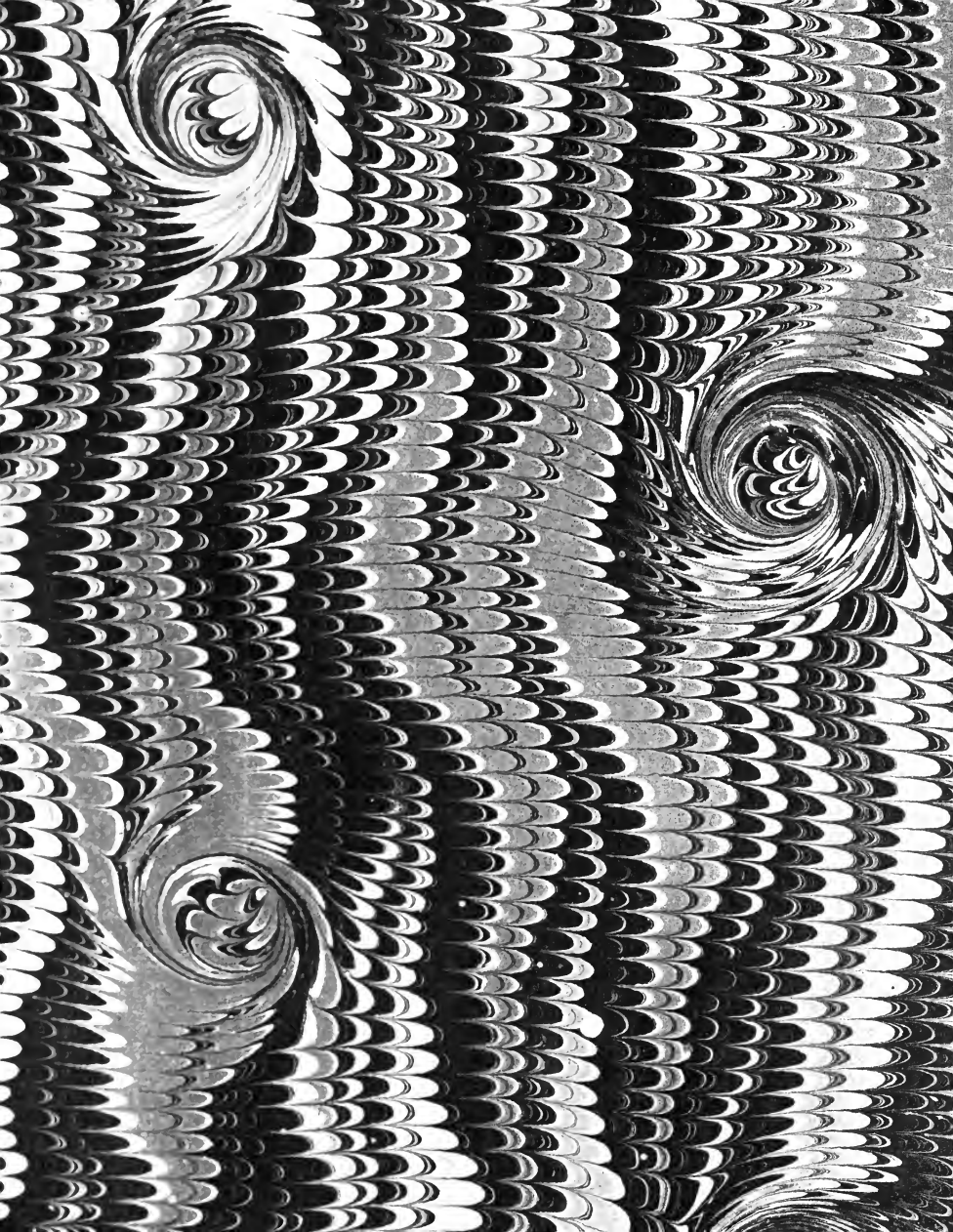


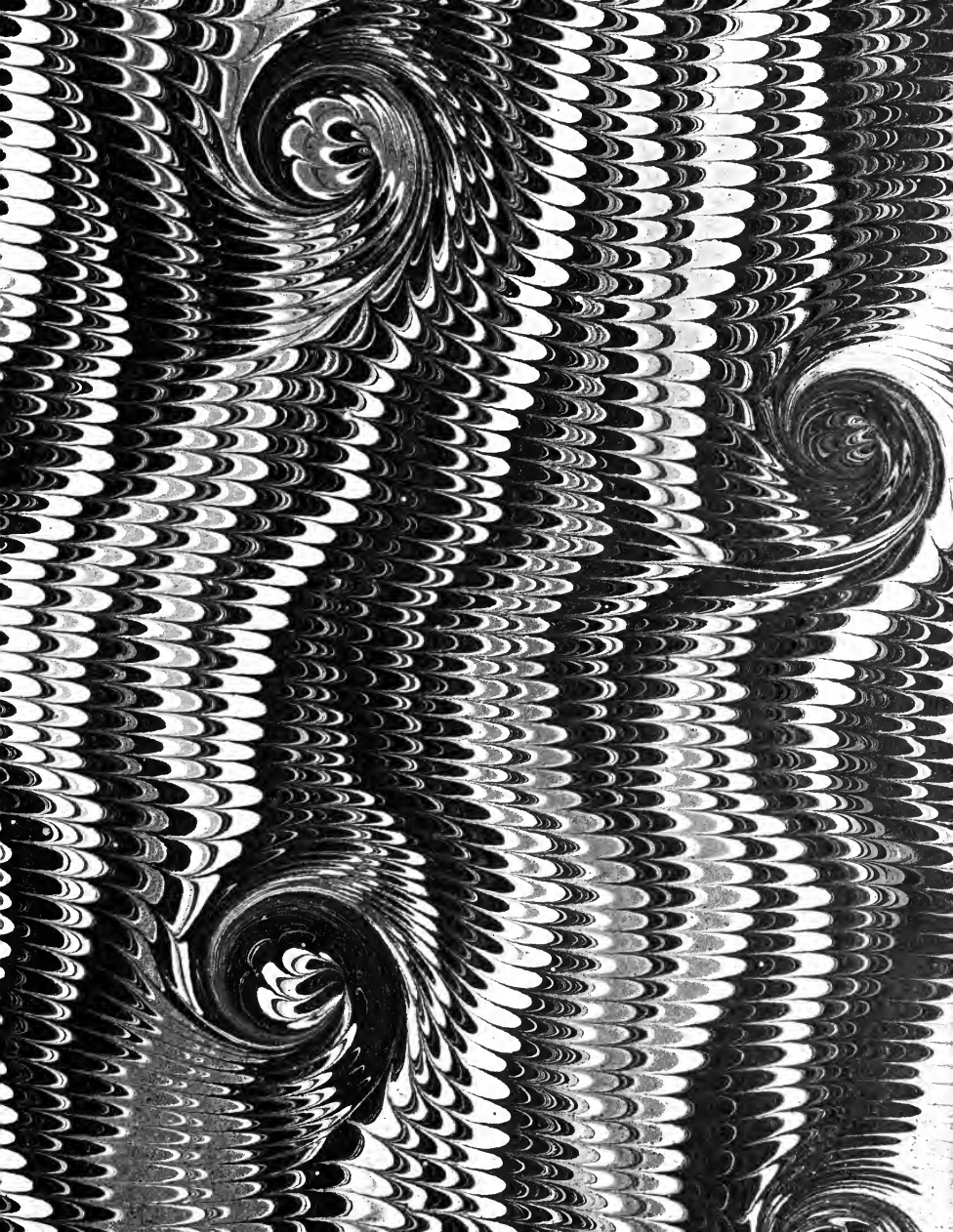
UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

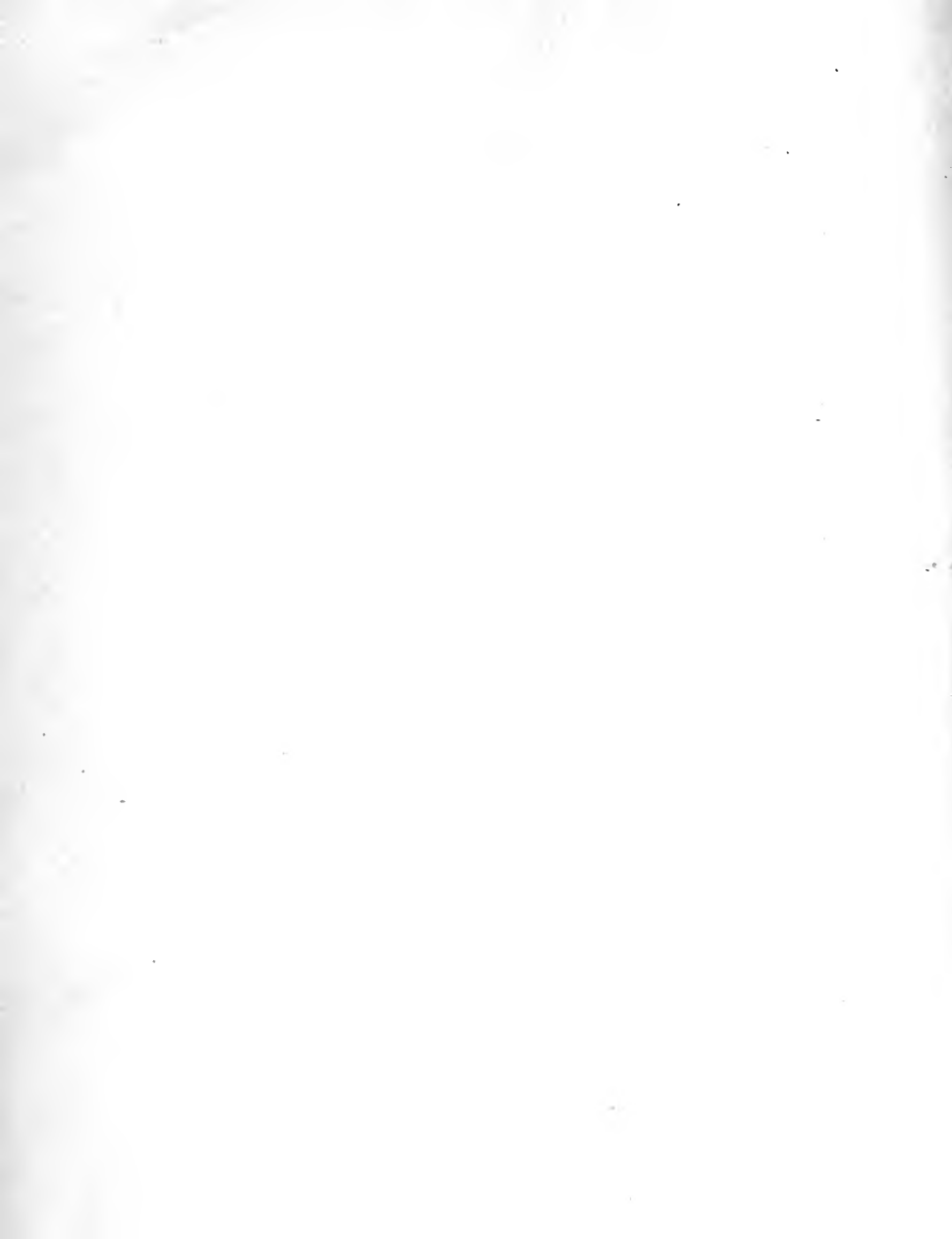


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ILLUSTRATIONS
OF
Early English Popular
Literature.

EDITED BY
J. PAYNE COLLIER.

VOL. II.



LONDON :
PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1864.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE transcripts of the documents printed in the ensuing pages were made between thirty and forty years ago : the first was from the original, and the second from a contemporary copy, or perhaps from a draught, of the more formal decree, as issued by the Star Chamber on 27th June, 1584. As both relate emphatically to the class of our literature with which, in this series, we are especially concerned, and at the very period to which our attention is more particularly directed, we thought, and think, that it is very desirable to print them : it is one of the few cases in which we shall deviate into the department of manuscripts. A very cursory perusal will show in what way, and to what extent, they illustrate our vernacular publications of the sixteenth century.

It seems that certain stationers (the word at that date including the now distinct branches of bookselling and printing) had complained of abuses in the trade, by which not only were patentees of the right of printing particular books, and classes of books, pecuniarily injured, but literature itself (as was contended) much damaged and endangered.

The complainants appear to have sought to establish this position, among other things, by reference to the case of a printer of the name of Roger Warde, who, in putting forth a copy of the Decalogue, in the first instance entirely omitted the eighth commandment, and, when the blunder was detected, endeavoured to amend it by subjoining "Thou shalt not steal" after the tenth commandment. It appears also that Warde had, in other re-

spects, conducted his press in a manner so disorderly, that it was found necessary to restrain him altogether. Other stationers also remonstrated against invasion of their purchased privileges ; and the matter was considered of so much importance, that the Queen appointed a special Commission to examine into and report on the whole subject.

The report of these Commissioners forms the first part of the following tract ; and, as it goes over the entire question, we see at once from a perusal of it the nature of the case, and the remedies proposed to be applied. To it will be found appended a curious list of all the then known printers in the metropolis, with the number of presses they severally employed, viz., 53 in the whole, which was held to be an "excessive multitude." At Oxford and Cambridge, only one press to each university was to be allowed.

The second document was founded upon the first : it is the Decree of the Star Chamber upon the various points at issue, making regulations, and enforcing them by imprisonment and penalties, which in our day could only be inflicted by Act of Parliament. The most remarkable part of it, perhaps, is the powers it confers on the Company of Stationers (always an interested party), powers which that corporate body was afterwards not slow to enforce. This, as we have said, seems to be a copy, or draught ; and we apprehend that the clause at the conclusion was an after-thought, and that it was intended to be inserted in a previous part of the Decree.

We are not aware that, until now, any notice has been taken of either of these important documents. In the later some slight omissions and clerical errors will be detected, and easily corrected.

J. P. C.

REPORT
OF
THE ROYAL COMMISSIONERS,
AND
DECREE OF THE STAR-CHAMBER,
REGARDING
Printers and Stationers
26 ELIZ.



LONDON :
PRIVATELY PRINTED.
1863.

ORDERS SETT DOWN BY THE COMMIS-
SIONERS FOR THE RELIEF OF THE
STATIONERS COMPLAYNING.

WE find proued and confessed, that the nature of
bokes and printing is such, as it is not meete,
nor can be without their vndoinges of all fides, that
fondrie men shold print one boke. And therefore,
where her Ma^{ties} graunteth not priuilege, they are en-
forced to haue a kind of priuileges among them
selues by ordinances of the companie, whereby euery
first printer of any lawfull booke, presenting it in the
Hall, hath the same as feuerall to him selfe as any
man hath any boke by her Ma^{ties} priuilege : and we
think her Ma^{ties} grauntes most meete to be main-
tained aboue all other.

Wherefore we think it most conuenient and neces-
sarie that her Ma^{ties} priuileges, being so interpreted
as the Patentees haue charitably yelded, be feuerely
upholden ; which we think can no waie be better done
then if the decree of Star Chamber be expounded to
extend to them, as the wordes plainely beare, and be
put in execution by bondes and otherwise. And the
rather, for that the Patentees, by the great contemptes

on the other side, haue ben driven to great losse, and peril of undoing. And this may be done by your Lls letters of warrant to the hye Commissioners, or other, to execute the same orders accordingly.

We find also that if some by such priuilege of her Ma^{tie} were not brought to some conuenient habilitie (which otherwise cannot be) these inconueniences wold ensue.

First, that there wold be no prouision of letter, and other thinges requiring a great charge, to print in England with any comlineffe, but in rude and barbarous manner.

Secondly, that a much greater number of householders, that lyue by workmanship then the complainants be, shold be vtterly undone for lack of hable persones to set them on worke.

Thirdly, that onelie Pamflettes, trifles and vaine small toies shold be printed, and the great bokes of value, and good for the Chirch and Realme, shold not be done at all.

We find also, that the number of those that haue presses, and complaine against the Patentees for lacke of worke, are not aboue thre or iiij^{or} persones, of whom yet Wolf hath acknowledged his error, and vpon submiffion is louingly receued into the companie, and is releued with worke.

We find that for their further releife, besides that

which the priuiledged men haue yelded out of their patentés, the complainants haue and may haue, and euer had, all the helpes following, viz. :

First, euerie of such Stationers hath diuers copies feuerall to them selues, which they enjoye as fully as if they had the Quenes privilege for euerie of them ; in so much as one of the complainantes, Jones, hath aboue a hundred copies to him selfe.

Secondly, euerie of them hath, of order feuerall to him selfe, any boke that he can procure any learned man to make or translate for him, or that can come to his hand to be the first printer of it.

Thirdly, euerie of them hath libertie of damask paper, which costeth nothing in copie or composition, and all balades, reportes of newes, and infinit of like forte.

Fourthly, as any copies that were feuerall doe, by death of the parties or by expiring of yeres, growe out of privilege, which are an infinit number, and be at the disposition of the companie, any of the Stationers complainantes, that will require any such copies, may haue them, and neuer were denied.

Fiftly, a great number of Stationers that kepe no preffes or printing, but put their worke to other, doe set learned men on worke to make and translate good bokes, and so haue the privilege of them. The complainantes, and so many of them as will indeavour to

be good, honest and faithfull workmen, haue, and may haue, the worke in printing of such bokes which are the greatest number of copies that be printed, and much greater number than be in priuilege, and commonly the most profitable; in so much as some one man of the companie, without priuilege to himselfe, but as workman to other, dealing honestly with his customers, mainteineth pressess, and setteth a great number of poore on worke with good commendation, and diuers other good workmen doe and may doe the like. Wherein we find such workmen in better case then the owners; for they are sure to be paid, whether the bokes be vttered or no, where the owner abideth aduenture of many to come to waste paper.

Sixthly, the Quenes printer and many of the priuileged men them selues, whoe doe the greatest and most profitable workes, do not onely print them selues, but also do put out a great deale of worke to other that kepe pressess.

For their further reliefe we haue, according to the order of articles by your Ll^{ps} letters apointed, spoken with the Patentees (except Marshe and Vautroller, who could not come to us) and perused their letters patentes, and red the contents of them in presence of the complainantes, permitting to the complainantes to charge them with vsurping any thing by colour of

any largeness of wordes, more then in the expresse tenour of her Ma^{ties} grauntes is conteined. And upon hearing bothe parties, we find it aparent and confessed, that they clayme no more then the wordes doe plainly beare, nor so much.

Notwithstanding such rightes of the Patentees, we haue trauailed with them to yelde somewhat of that which they haue in right for the releife of the poore, wherein we haue found them very reasonable in such maner as haue been certefied by the former Commisioners. And yet, for further help to the poore men, we required the auntientes of the companie to trauaile more with the Patentees, whom they also found reasonable, and haue taken order by assent; and haue certified the same to us, as appereth in their letter and certificat, which we send to your Ll^{ps} vnder their handes.

Howbeit, we pray your Ll^{ps} to consider of two special cautions to be added to the orders that they require: the one, that they be with condition of streight order, that the Patentees, charitably graunting so much, may be sure quietly to enjoye the rest of their priuilege without interruption: the other, that the poore men, for whoes reliefe this is graunted, may be sure to enjoye the same, and not other to go away with the gaine, vnder colour of the poore mens sute, which (as we think) is to be remedied this

onely waie : that when such booke so yelded to the poore men are to be printed, the patentee shall not print it him selfe, but put it to printing to one of the poore men for the patentee in his name, allowing the poore men for the printing as much for euery realme as is vsual for such worke, and vj^d the realme more, whereby the poore men shall haue worke and lyue by it, and shalbe at no charge but his worke, and beare no aduenture, but be sure to gaine howfoeuer the booke be sold, and the Patentee shal haue care that the booke be well done in his name, specially newe Testamentes and booke of charge.

We do also, for their further releife (as the former Commissioners did) pray your Llps to be meanes that her Ma^{tie} will not hereafter drawe into priuilege, after the present priuileges expired, any general title of booke of any whole arte, nor any booke extant in copie, and at libertie for others to print before the priuilege, specially scholre bookes ; except booke pertaining to her Ma^{ties} seruice, and the office of her printer.

Item, that your Ll^{ps} will like well that Marshe and Vautrollier, which haue the sole printing of sondrie scholre booke, and with whome we have not yet spoken by reason of their infirmitie, may be treated with to choose, during their patent, eche of them some fortes, and leaue the rest at libertie, which we aduise

the rather for these causes. First, for that copies of schole bokes were not made at their charges, but were free and lawfull for all men before. Secondly, for that schole bokes, by reason of children's dayly spending them, are the thinges most sufficient to releue the poore men. Thirdly, for that we are informed that these two patentees, being said to be graunted upon vntrewe suggestions, are thought by some to be by lawe repelable; so as the Patentees may be ruled by your Ll^{ps}, if they be froward. Provided that these schole bokes, so set at libertie, be allowed onely to the poore men of that companie; which is to be performed by an ordinance in the Hall, that the poore printers names be expressed, with this, that no other but those poore men shall lay on paper, or take the benefit of printing of those bokes.

We also finde that the multitudes of bokes, printed of late by the complainantes against the priuileges, are so great, and done with such contemptes, as the Patentees are not like to haue any sale in great time; and those that be printed may colour other to be printed hereafter, to their further detriment.

Therefore we (as the former Commiſſioners) think it specially meete that they be all brought in and deliuered to the Patentees, at such reasonable price as the auntientes of the companie, being not priui-

leged men, with some authorifed by your Ll^{ps}, shall thinke meete, fo as the poore offenders be not vn-done, not yet encoraged to offend.

Herein we think meete that this be executed, as well upon the fellers as the printers, and the procurers and hyrers of the printers to print them, and that fuch fellers and procurers beare part of the faid price, and not the printers onely, who are alreadie great losers. And if any be obftinate, your Ll^{ps} authoritie and the decree of the Star Chamber may fuffife to rule them. Prouided alwaie, that fuch bokes as haue been found fo very corruptly printed that they be to the fclaunder of the Chirch or other publike harme, as the primer and catechifme printed by Warde, wherein the eighth commandement, thou fhalt not steale, was omitted, and afterward put after the tenth, and other exceding errors and tranfpofitions comitted, may be diftroied or defaced, or amended by reprinting of fome leaues, by difcretion of the companie.

This was a matter fpecially, for the state and chirch, comended to your Ll^{ps} by the other Commiffioners; and for the prefent we haue thought good to fet down in a feuerall paper, which we fend yow, the number of printers vſing printing and their preffes: and herein alfo followeth our poore aduifes for meanes to amend the exceffe in this behalfe.

First, that your Ll^{ps} command that the number of presses be in no wise greater then it now is, and to be abated hereafter, as by good discretion it may be without injury; for that small number will serue the Realme, because booke printed in England are vttered no where els, and if the number be greater than sufficeth, they will other doe thinges vnlawfull, or exclaime with newe complaintes, as they now doe for lacke of worke.

Item, we think meete that euerie one which kepeth presse be bound to her Ma^{tie} with sureties, that wittinglie he shall not suffer his presse or letters to be employed in thinges forbidden, either as vnlawfull or as pertaining by priuilege or by lawfull ordinance to any other, nor shall lend out presse, or letter, or other printing instrumentes, to any person not so bounden.

That no man hereafter set vp a presse without licence of the wardens and assistants of the companie, or (if the said wardens and assistants be vncharitably willfull) then of the Ecclesiasticall Commissioners.

That no such licence be giuen vnlesse the partie be with suerties first bound to her Ma^{tie} as before, nor vnlesse he be knowne a sufficient workman for printing.

That no printer shall alen his presse without

warning to the wardens, that the bond may be taken of him that buyeth it.

That the number of pressses be yerely vewed.

That euerie founder of letter, cutter and pocher, be likewise bound not to cast any letter, vineyet, mark, finging notes, or such like, nor to cut or poche for any person not so bounden, nor without warrant from the wardens, or notice to the wardens.

That euerie worker of iron worke for pressses, or thinges for printing, be likewise bound for their iron worke.

That the joyners vsing to make pressses, or thinges for printing, be likewise bound for his worke.

That euerie printer, before he vse any letter in printing, either cast or grauen, do deliuer into the Stationers' Hall one sheete of paper or more, wherein for a sample shalbe printed all the sortes of letters that he hath, both small and capitalls, and of all letters grauen or cut, and of all his vineyets and other workes and figures, and that he shall not vse any whereof he shall not first so deliuer such a sample.

That euerie printer keping pressses be restrained to a reasonable number of pressses, according to his qualitie and store of worke; as for example, the Queenes printer hauing but v pressses, and the law printer but twoo, we think it not reason that Wolf

have v, but to restraine him and such other to one or two by discretion, till his stoare of worke shall require more.

That euerie workman of printing, either at case or presse, and euerie correcter, to be bound not to labor or worke in printing of such bokes forbidden or vnlawfull. And that none set any such to worke without knowing, or seeing a certificat from the wardens that such a one is so bounden.

That no presse be vsed in vault or secret place, but such as may easily and openly be found in search.

That no printer bring vp in printing any greater number of apprentices than is conuenient; which conuenience we think good to be referred to the presente orders, and the auntientes of the companie, till there shall appeare further cause of complainte. But specially, that no printer be suffered to kepe more apprentices than so as he kepe one journeyman at the least for euerie one apprentice, except one apprentice for his paper chamber. And that none be suffered to worke in printing, that hath not ben brought vp in that feat, and worke, by the space of vij yerres at the least.

That no printer, or workman in printing or stationer's art, be suffered to take or kepe any apprentice, but first presented at the Stationers' Hall, that the number may be knowne; nor, unlesse the M^r. be

first bounden, that he shal kepe such apprentice himselfe in lawfull worke, without being employed in printing of vnlawfull booke, or other men's copies, and without setting him ouer, or letting him out to hyre to any other.

That the Lord Maior be written unto, to take order that the Chamberlaine allowe or enrole, or make free, no apprentice of any printer or other stationer, without presenting by the Wardens of Stationers; to the ende that they may prouide for obseruing of so many of the said orders as concerne such an apprentice.

That the lawes of the Realme, and of the Citie, be executed upon such as shal set forrens on worke in that arte.

That such as haue notoriously offended in false and corrupt printing may be forbidden to kepe presses, but to lyue as other householders, that be workemen, till their skill and fidelitie be better approued; as Roger Warde, whome your Ll^{ps} haue specially by your letters appointed to be restrained, who hath ben but a late M^r of a presse, and from his first hauing a presse hath continually vsed it disorderly, and may lyue as well without it.

That forasmuch as printing (like vnto coining) is such a speciall arte, and so much importeth the state in the misuse thereof, it may please your Ll^{ps} to write

to the Lord Maior that, according to the charter in that behalf, they suffer not the multitude of printers to be increased by men of other companies, pretending by the generall libertie to have freedom to be printers.

That euerie printer be bound not to withstand the serches of the wardens, or of any authorised from her Ma^{tie}, or her priuie Counsell, nor to delay the searchers by keping them out till they haue hidden and conveyed the thinges to be searched for.

That if any printer of any good boke, and specially of bokes of good quantitie, or of scripture, or diuinitie, or the statutes, or common lawe, or of common prayer or primers, or catechismes or schole bokes, doe print the same notoriously corruptly, or on euill paper, to the darkening or hinderance of the reading or noting, he shalbe therefore punished by the discretion of the auntientes, either by suppressing the bokes, if it be so requisite, or by fine. And that if such persone be a persone priuiledged by ordinaunce of the companie, he shall, after the third warning, lose all benefit to haue priuilege of any boke by such ordinaunces. And if he haue priuilege from the Quene, that then, after the third warning, your Ll^{ps} will procure that her highnesse pleasure be not to assist such a priuiledged persone with her prerogatiue. And that in all priuileges hereafter, her Ma^{tie} wilbe

pleased that the trewe and good printing of paper and correction be enfered, as mater of condition, after two or three warninges.

That bokesellers and binders, according to the order of the Star Chamber, be likewise bound for binding, flitching, and vtterance, as the printers for printing.

That there be a feuere peine executed upon such as make or vse counterfait markes of other mens letters, vineyettes, markes or figures, or print without name, or in the names of other men without their assent.

For the mater moued by your Ll^{ps} touching the price of bokes, we doe not finde such cause of complaint, confidering the great losse that printers beare when bokes vnfolde come to waist paper; confidering also that as many leaues printed are now folde for a peny, as many yeres since, when paper and other charges were not so much as now by halfe; and if any exceffe were in such prices, there is a speciall statute in the yere of King Henrie the viijth, geuing power to certaine great Lordes to reforme the same.

Howbeit, for som remedie to auoide such peril, and for releife of the poorer sorte, whoe may by policie be eaten out by the richer from the gaine of boke selling, we think it good to be ordered that no printer

fell to any perſon any bokes, in great number, at any leſſe price, or more abatement or allowance after the rate, than they fell of like ſortes to any Stationer that ſhall bye a quarterne at ones, or more; which quarterne is xxv bokes, in which caſe the byer hath alwaie a quarterne boke geuen him freely, that is to ſaie, one boke for euerie xxv that he byeth, how great ſoeuer the boke be.

And that the companie make an ordinance among them, that no boke-fellers take vp whole empreſſions, or ſo great quantities to lye by them in ſtoare till a ſcarcitie, to the encrease of price, or to the hinderance of poore men that thereby cannot haue them, for ſuch engroſing may be hurtfull.

JOHN LOND.

ALEXANDER NOWELL.

W. FLETEWODE.

JOHN HAMMOND.

THOMAS NORTON.

*The Names of all the Printers in London keeping
presses, and the number of the same presses.*

Mr. Barker hath v presses
 Mr. Tottell hath iiij presses, and vsfeth but one
 Mr. Daie hath iiiij^{or} presses
 Mr. Denham hath iiiij^{or} presses
 Mr. Marfhe hath iiij presses
 Mr. Jugge hath ij presses
 Mr. Bineman hath iiij presses
 Mr. Middleton hath iiij presses
 Mr. How hath j presse
 Mr. Purfoot hath ij presses
 Thoms East hath j presse
 John Charlewoode hath ij presses
 Roger Warde hath j presse
 Hugh Jakfon hath j presse
 Robert Walgrave hath j presse
 Thoms Dawson iiij presses
 John Wolf hath iiij presses; and ij moe since found
 John Kingfton hath ij presses [in a fecret vault
 John Aldee hath j presse
 Thoms Vautrollier hath ij presse[s]
 Walter Whitney hath j presse
 Richard Jones hath j presse
 John Dehorfe hath j presse

53 presses in the whole.

A DECREE IN THE STARRE CHAMBER,
FOR THE REDRESSING OF THE
ABUSES IN PRINTING.

27 JUNIJ, 26 ELIZABETHÆ.

WHERAS fundry decrees and ordinances haue upon graue aduise and deliberation been heretofore made and published for the repressing of such great enormities and abuses as of late, more then in time past, haue been commonly vsed and practised by diuers contentious and disordered persons professing the arte and misterie of printing and felling of bookes : And yett notwithstanding the said abuses and enormities are nothing abated, but, it is found by experience, doe rather more and more increase, to the wilfull and manifest breach and contempt of the saide ordinances and decrees, to the greate displeasure and offence of the Queenes most excellent Majesty ; by reason wherof fundry intollerable offences, troubles, and disturbances haue happened, aswell in the Church as in the ciuill government of the State and Common wealth of this Realme, which seeme to

haue growne, becaufe the paines and penaltie, contained and fett downe in the fame ordinances and decrees, haue been too light and small for the correction and punishment of foe grieuous and heinous offences; and foe the offenders and malefactors in that behalfe haue not bin so feuerely punished as the quallitie of their offences haue deserued. Her Majestie, therefore, of her most godlie and gracious disposition, being carefull that speedie and due reformation be had of the abuses and disorders aforesaid, and that all persons vsing [and] professing the arte, trade, and misterie of printing or selling of bookes, shold from henceforth be ruled and directed therein by some certaine and knowne rules and ordinances, which shold inuiolably be kept and obserued, and the breakers and offenders of the same to be feuerely and sharplie punished and corrected, hath streightly charged and required the most reuerend Father in God, the Archbishop of Cant., and the right ho. the Lordes and others of her Highnesses priue Councell, to see her said Majesties most gracious and godly intention and purpose to be duellie and effectually executed and accomplished. Whereupon the said most reuerend Father in God, and the whole presence sitting in this ho. Court this xxij day of June, in the xxvjth yeare of her Majesties reigne, upon graue and mature deliberation, haue ordained and

decreed that the ordinances and constitutions, rules and articles hereafter following, by all persons from henceforth be due and inuolably kept and obserued, according to the tenor, purporte, and true intent and meaning of the same, as they tender her Majesties high displeasure, and as they will answer to the contrary at their vtmost perill : viz.

That euery Printer, and other person or persons whatsoeuer, which at this time present hath erected or sett vp, or hereafter shall erect or sett vp, maintaine or haue any printing presse, rowle, or other instrument for printing of bookes, charts, ballads, portraitures, paper called damask paper, or any such matters or thinges whatsoeuer, shall bring a true note or certificate of the said presses, or other printing instrumentes, already erected, within tenn daies next comming after the publication hereof, and of the said presses, or other printing instrumentes, hereafter to be erected or sett vp from time to time within tenn daies next after the erecting or setting vp thereof, unto the M^r and Wardens of the Company of Stationers of the Cittie of London for the time being, upon paine that euery person failing or offending herein shall haue all and euery the said presses and other instrumentes vtterlie defaced and made vnseruiceable for imprinting for euer. And shall also suffer twelue months imprisonment without baile or mainprise.

Item, that no printer of bookes, nor any other person or persons whatfoeuer, shall sett vp, keepe, or maintaine any presse or presses, or any other instrument or instrumentes for printing of bookes, charts, portraitures, or any other thing or thinges whatfoeuer, but only in the Cittie of London or the suburbs thereof; except one presse in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, and one other in the Vniuersitie of Oxford, and no more.—And that no person shall hereafter erect, set vp, or maintaine, in any secret or obscure corner or place, any such presse or instrument before expressed, but that the same shalbe in such open place or places, in his or their house or houses, as the Wardens of the said Company of Stationers for the time being, or such person or persons as by the said Wardens shalbe thereunto appointed, may from time to time haue ready acceffe vnto, to search for and view the same. And that no printer, or other person or persons, shall at any time hereafter withstand or make resistance to making any such view or search, nor deny or keepe secret any such presse, or other instrument for imprinting, vpon paine that euery person offending in any thing contrary to this Article shall haue all the said presses and other printing instrumentes defaced and made vnseruiceable for imprinting for euer. And shall also suffer imprisonment one whole yeare, without baile or mainprise,

and to be disabled for euer to keepe any printing presse, or other instrumentes for imprinting; or to be M^r of any printing house, or to haue any benefitt thereby, other then only to worke as a journey man for wages.

Item, that no printer, or other person or persons whatsoeuer, that hath sett vp any presse, or instrument for printing, within fixe months last past, shall hereafter vse or occupy the same; nor any person or persons shall hereafter sett vp or erect any presse, or any other instrument of printing, till the excesssiue multitude of printers hauing presses alreadie set vp be debated, diminished, and by death giuen ouer, or otherwise brought to so small a number of masters and owners of printing houses, being of abillitie and good behauour, as the Archb. of Cant. and B. of London for the time being shall therevpon thinke it requisite, and conuenient for the good seruice of the Realme to haue some more presses or instruments of printing erected or sett vp. And that whereas, as often as the said Archb. and the B. for the time being, that then and so often the said M^r and Wardens shall, within conuenient time after, call the Assistants of the saide Company before them, and shall make choise of one or moe as, by the opinion of the said Arch. and B. for the time being asked, shall require of such persons (being free Stationers) as for

their skill, abilitie, and good behauiour shall be thought by the said M^r, Wardens and Assistants, or the more parte of them, meete to haue the charge and gouernment of a presse or printing house : and, within 14 dayes next after such election and choice, the said M^r, Wardens, or other at least of the Assistants of the saide Company, shall present, before the high Commissioners in causes ecclesiasticall, fixe or moe of them, whereof the Archb. of Cant. and the B. of London to be one, the person and persons so chosen and elected. And that vpon such choice and presentment so made, it shalbe lawfull to or for the said Commissioners, or any fixe, or moe of them, whereof the Archb. or Byshop be one, to allow and admit euery such person, so chosen and presented, to be M^r or Gouvernour of a presse or printing house, according to the same election and presentment, vpon paine that euery person, offending contrary to the intent of this Article, shall haue his press, or other instrument for imprinting, defaced and made inseruiceable; and also suffer imprisonment the space of one whole yeare, without baile or mainprise. Prouided alwaies that this Article, nor any thing therein contained, shall not extend to the office of the Queenes Majesties printer for the seruice of the Realme, but that the saide office and officer shalbe and continew at the pleasure and disposition of her Majestie, her

heires and successors, at all times vpon the death of her highnesse printer or otherwise.

Item, that no person or persons shall print, or cause to be imprinted, or suffer, to his knowledge, his presse, letters, or other instrumentes, to be occupied in printing any bookes, works, coppie, matter, or any thing whatsoever, except the same booke, worke, coppie or matter, or any other thing, haue bin heretofore allowed, or hereafter shalbe allowed before the imprinting thereof, according to the order appointed by the Queenes Majesties Injunctions, and be first seene and perused by the Archb. of Cant. and B. of London for the time being, or one of them; the Queenes Majesties printer, for some speciall seruice by her Ma., or by some of her highnes priue Councill therevnto appointed, and such as are and shalbe priuiledged to print the bookes of common lawes of this Realme for such of the same bookes as shalbe allowed of by the two Chiefe Justices and chiefe Baron for the time being, or any two of them, onely excepted: nor shall print, or cause to be imprinted, any bookes, woorkes, or copy against the forme and true meaning of any restraunte or ordinance contained, or to be contained, in any statute or lawes of this Realme, or in any Injunction made or sett forth by her Ma., or her highnes priue Councill, or against the true intent and meaning of any letters pattentes,

or prohibitions vnder the greate seale of England, or contrary to any alowed ordinance sett downe for the good gouernment of the company of Stationers, within the Citie of London, vpon paine to haue all such presses, letter and instrumentes, as in or about the imprinting of any such bookes or coppies shalbe employed or vsed, to be defaced and made inferuiceable for imprinting for euer. And vpon paine also, that euery offender and offenders contrary to this present Article or Ordinance shalbe disabled (after any such offence) to vse or exercise, or take benefitt by vsing or exercising of the arte or feate of printing; and shall, moreouer, suffer 6 months imprisonment, without baile or mainprise.

Item, that euery such person as shall vtter, or put to sale wittingly, bind, stich or sowe, or willingly cause to be sould, vttered, put to sale, bound, stiched or sowed, any bookes or coppies whatsoeuer, printed contrary to the intent and true meaning of any Ordinance or article aforesaide, shall suffer 3 months imprisonment for his or their offences.

Item, that it shalbe lawfull for the Wardens of the said company for the time being, or any two of the saide company, thereunto deputed by the saide Wardens, to make search in all workehouses, shops, warehouses of printers, bookefellers, bookebinders, or where they shall haue reasonable cause of suspi-

cion; and all bookes, coppies, matters, thinges printed or to be printed, contrary to the intent and meaning of these present ordinances, to seaze and take to her Ma. vse, and the same to carry into the Stationers Hall in London; and the partie and parties offending in printing, felling, vttering, binding, stiching or sowing, any such bookes or coppies, matters or thinges, to arrest, bring, and present before the said high Commissioners in causes Ecclesiasticall, or some 3 or more of them, whereof the said Archb. of Cant. and B. of London for the time being to be one.

Item, that it shall be lawfull to and for the said Wardens for the time being, or any two by them appointed, without lett or interruption of any person or persons whatsoever, to enter into any house, workehouse, warehouse, shop, or other place or places, and to seize, take, and carry away all presses, letters, and other instrumentes for printing, sett vp, vsed, or employed, or to be vsed, sett vp, and employed contrary to the true meaning hereof, to be defaced or made inseruiceable as aforesaid. And that the said Wardens shall, so often as neede shall require, call the Assitants of the said Company of Stationers, or parte of them, into the said Hall, and there to take order for the defacing, burning, breaking, and destroying of all the said presses, letters, and other

printing instrumentes aforefaid ; and thereupon shall cause all fuch printing preſſes and other instrumentes for imprinting to be defaced, melted, ſawed in peeces, broken or battered at a Smiths forge, or otherwaies to be made inferuiceable, and the ſtuffe of the ſame ſo defaced ſhalbe redeliuered to the owners thereof within 3 months next after the taking or ſeizing thereof as aforefaid.

Item, for the avoiding of the exceſſiue number of Printers within this Realme, it ſhall not be lawfull for any perſon or perſons, being free of the Company of Stationers, or vſing the trade or myſtery of printing, booke felling or booke binding, to haue, take, and keepe hereafter any greater number of prentices then ſhall hereafter be expreſſed : That is to ſaie, euery perſon that hath bin or ſhalbe Maſter or Vpper Warden of the Company whereof he is free, to keepe three apprentices at one time, and not aboue ; and euery perſon that is of the yeomanry of the Company, whereof he is or ſhalbe free, to keepe one apprentice, if he him ſelfe be not a journyman, and not aboue. Prouided alwaies that this ordinance ſhall not extend to the Queenes Maieſties printer for the time being, for the ſeruice of her Maieſtie and the Realme, but that he be at libertie to haue and keepe apprentices to the number of 6 at any one time.

Item, that none of the printers in Cambridge or Oxford for the time being shalbe suffred to haue any more prentices then one att one time at the most; but it is and shalbe lawfull to and for the said printers, and euery of them and their succeffors, to haue and vse the helpe of any journeymen, being freemen of the Cittie of London, without contradiction, any law, statute, or commandement contrary to the meaning and due execution of these Ordinances, or any of them, in any wise notwithstanding.

Or shall be underwarden, or of the liuery of the said company whereof hee is free, to keepe two apprentices and not aboue, and euery person that is or shal be, &c.

THOMAS BROMLEY, *Milit.*
Cancell. Angliæ.

DOM. BURLEIGH, *Dom. the-*
saur. Angliæ.

DOM. HUNSDON, *Camer.*
hospit.

DOM. COBHAM.

FRANCIS KNOLLES, *Milit.*
thesaur.

CHRISTOPHER HATTON,
Milit. Vice-camerarius.



INTRODUCTION.

THE tract now reprinted is one of great rarity, especially in the state in which it appears in the copy we have employed; for we know of no other that has the sonnet by John Davies of Hereford on the last leaf. The word *Finis* is at the bottom of the preceding page, and the work has therefore been erroneously considered complete without the sonnet—one of the best its author produced among his dull voluminous rhyming compositions.

The journey of Sir Anthony Sherley (a man by no means deficient in vanity, and assuming a good deal of self-importance) to Persia attracted great attention in the very commencement of the seventeenth century; and on his return, or rather on the return of some of his companions, much eagerness was displayed by publishers to obtain for the press a narrative of his proceedings, and an account of what he had been able to accomplish for the expulsion of the Turks, and for the establishment of a union between Christian Princes and the sovereign of Persia against them. The Registers of the Stationers' Company bear witness to the number of intended publications on the subject; and on the 23rd October, 1600, we find, among the miscellaneous memoranda, that Ra. Blore and Wm. Jagger (or Jaggard) were fined 6s. 8d. "for printing without licence, and contrary to order, a little book of S^r. Anthony Sherley's Voyage:" they were farther directed "to bring all the copies to the Hall", that they might be confiscated and cancelled. It seems to have consisted only of a few hasty leaves.

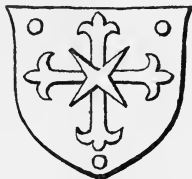
This date was about a month after William Parry, one of Sir Anthony's followers, had come back to England with surprising news of the journey to Persia, of the manner in which the ambassador had been received by the Shah, and of the difficulties and dangers he had experienced in his travels. Sir Anthony did not himself reach his native country until some time afterwards, and his own account of his expedition (which is also rare, especially in an *unthumbed* condition) did not come out until 1613. Parry seems to have written the ensuing tract for the purpose of gratifying public interest in the first instance; and, as will be seen, it bears date in 1601, the author having only set foot on shore in the middle of September of that year.

So great was the prevailing curiosity on the subject of these adventures, (Sir Anthony having been accompanied by his brothers) that Day, Rowley, and Wilkins, three distinguished dramatic poets, instantly joined their forces to produce a drama relating to the travels of the Sherleys; and although it was not printed until 1607, (it had been entered on the Stationers' Registers on the 29th June in that year) it was doubtless acted in 1601, or early in 1602. Parry's pamphlet, which occupies the following pages, must have contributed the main materials for the plot of the play, the popularity of which can hardly be disputed. It is one of the dearest of our early English stage-productions. Another contemporary of Shakespeare, (whose initials have sometimes been confounded with those of our great dramatist) Wentworth Smith, also produced a comedy on the same incidents, which has not reached our day.

**A new and large discourse
of the Trauels of sir Anthony
Sherley Knight, by Sea and
ouer Land, to the Persian
EMPIRE.**

Wherein are related many straunge and wonderfull accidents :
and also the Description and conditions of those Countries
and People he passed by : with his returne into Christ-
endome.

*Written by William Parry, Gentleman, who
accompanied Sir Anthony in his
Trauells.*




L O N D O N

Printed by Valentine Simmes for
Felix Norton. 1601.



A new and large Discourse, of the
Trauelles of Sir Anthonie Sherley
Knight, by Sea, and ouer Land, to the
Persian Empire.

 T hath beene, and yet is, a prouerbiall speech amongst vs, that *Trauelles may lie by authority*: now, whether this Prouerbe hath had authoritie from that authority which some Trauellers haue vsurped (neuer by iustice granted) to lie, or whether their report (albeit most true) yet exceeding the beliefe of those auditors that wil beleeeue nothing that falles not within their owne ocular experience, or probabilitie of truth, squared by the same; whether (I say), from one or both of these grounds this pro- uerb hath sprung, I am vncertaine: but certaine I am diuerse there are (entiteling themselues Trauel- lers for crossing the narrow seas to the neighbour partes of Picardie peraduenture, or the lowe coun- tries perhappes) from thence take authoritie to vtter lies in England (at their returne) by retaile, which they haue coyned there in grosse. And as sure I am that many honest and true Trauellers, for speaking

the truth of their owne knowledge (for in the world are many incomprehensible miracles of Nature) yet, because it exceeds the beliefe of the vnexperienced and home-bred vulgars, they are by them concluded liers for their labour. How could a man, from his birth confined in a dungeon or lightlesse caue, be brought to conceiue, or beleue the glorie and great magnificence of the visible celestiall and terrestriall globes, with the wonderfull workes of the great Author of Nature in the same? Nay, were such a one suddenly transferred to the toppe of some mountaine or lofty turret in a summers day, from whence he might beholde the glory of the heauens, replenished with that most admirable Cresset, who for his glittering and diuine glory provokes many nations of the world to performe diuine adoration therevnto; to see (I say) those resplendant and cristalline heauens overcannoping the earth, inuested most sumptuously, in height of Natures pride, with her richest liuery, the particularities whereof, were they described according to the trueth of their nature, it might breede a scruple in the naturall man, whether Man were (for transgression) euer vnimpairadized or no. And such a man of whom I speake would (like a soule suddenly transferred by the handes of Angells from earth to heauen) be beheaded with the ioy he would conceiue, by reason of

fo glorious a prospect, and such soule-rauishing and sense-bewitching obiectes. The application hereof is apparant : for were men merely home-bred (and in that respect but as the man confined to his caue) abroad in the eminent and oppulent places of the world, as also in the most remote and obscure corners of the same, and there with insearching and well discerning eies to behold the rarities (surmounting admiration) therein included, he would (no doubt) be rapt vp with ceaselesse wonderment, or wondrous amazement, at the sight and consideration of them. For mine owne part, I am resolu'd to make a true relation of what mine eies saw, not respecting the iudgement of the vulgars, but contenting my selfe with the conscience of the truth ; besides which (I protest) I purpose to write nothing. This by way of preamble : now to the matter.

Therefore, first landing at Vlissing, we were honourably receiued and entertained of sir Robert Sidney, lord Gouverneur of that garrison : from whence we went on foote to Middleborough, where we tooke a small hoy that caried us that night to Sierichzee. From thence we then tooke our iourney to Somerdicke ; from whence wee likewise crofft the water the next morning, and at night we lay at Brill. Hitherto we passed on foote, hieing poore

fouldiers to carry our baggage, by reason that the frost was so great that horses were not able to passe, and the way vnusual. From the Brill the next day we crofft the waters, and landing, we had waggons that conueyed vs and ours to the Hage : where no sooner being alighted, but that sir Anthony (attended by vs) went to visite his Excellency, confociated with master Gilpin, the Queens Agent, thither ; where continueing not past an houre to complement with the Prince, he withdrew himselfe to his lodging to repose himselfe : whither (not long after) his Excellencie and the States sent fiftie great flaggons of wine, together with his passe through the Countrey, whereby he was to take conuoy as he thought requisite. The next day to Leiden, so to Vtricke, to Dewborough, and then to Collen, the passage wherevnto was somewhat dāgerous, by occasion wherof we had sir Nicholas Parkers troupe of horse to conuoy vs thither ; our company hauing 25 of his horses to ride on, and 25 more of his troupe, besides the cornebearer, to accompany vs to Collen, which we did in 6 daies, spending one night merily.

The next morning sir Anthony, giuing the troupe that were his conuoy a bountifull rewarde, sent them backe againe ; wee taking our iourney forwardes thorowe those partes of Germanie, as Frankeford, No-rembe[r]ge, and so to Augusta, altogether by coach.

From whence wee hired horses to passe the Alpes, in respect that it was not passable by coach. And from thence we were tenne dayes passing to Venice, whither we went with resolution to aide the duke of Ferrara in his warres against the Pope; who (good duke) fearing the Popes curse, gaue ouer the warres as the Pope would: howbeit we remained in Venice tenne weekes. In which time fir Anthony went to the Duke thereof, who entertained him with all princely complement, sending him to his lodging a royall banquet of all kinde of confectioned sweete meates, and wine in great aboundance, which continued a long time. Who likewise commaunded that we should haue libertie to see any thing in the cittie worthy the sight, which accordingly we saw, to fir Anthonies no small cost; for in his rewards he was there, and elsewhere, most royall.

To write of the fashions and dispositions of the Germans and Italians were a matter not woorth my paines, because it is so well knowne to all men that knowes, or haue read, or heard any thing: therefore I will goe forward with our iourney, and write of matter more nouellous, and lesse knowne to my home-bred countreyemen, for whose sake (chiefly) I haue compiled this Discourse.

In Maie, next following our departure from England, we set forwards from Venice in an Italian ship,

which we had compounded with, amongst others, to conuey vs to Aleppo; but by occasion of some iarres wee hadde with some Italians (passengers as wee were) in the ship, they landed vs in an Iland of the Venetians called Zanc, vnto which place wee were two and twenty dayes passing, the captaine assuring vs that we shoulde haue passed it in tenne dayes, which made vs prouide but for fifteene dayes vitaille: those fifteene dayes being expired, our vittaille quite spent, and hauing seauen dayes trauell further in that ship, we could for money, nor by no meanes, get any vittailles of those vnkinde Italians; whereby we had bin very greeuously distressed, but that certaine Perfians (though Pagans by profession) being in the ship well vittailed, and seeing the impious and dogged disposition of those Italians, supplied all our wants for that seauen dayes *gratis*. In which time an Italian in that shippe using some villainous and opprobrious speeches towards our Queenes Maiestie, and the same not heard of by sir Anthony, nor any of his company, in two dayes after, but then made knowne by an Italian that attended maister Robert Sherly; whereof, when Sir Anthony heard, he forthwith caused one of our company so to beate him with a billet that it is impossible he should euer recouer it. In the performaunce whereof he made a great outcry, whereupon all the Italians were vp

in armes, being in number some three score persons, and we but foure and twenty. Howbeit, we were (with weapons drawne) prest to defend and offend. The captaine of the ship thereupon demanded of Sir Anthony how any man durst intermeddle, in that kinde, vnder his commaund? Whereunto Sir Anthony replied, that it was an iniurie tending to the reproach and indignitie of his Soueraigne, which hee neither would nor could indure; and therewithall told him, if he would subborne or abet him therein, the one side should welter in their blood. And our side being rather desirous to prosecute this point with swordes then with wordes, Sir Anthonies brother gaue the captaine a found boxe, which was very hardely digested, and much mischief had like to haue fallen thereon; but by meanes of certaine Merchants in the ship, more fearful of their goods then of the losse of their bloods (and yet fearefull enough of either) pacified (with much adoe) both parties. Howbeit either part liued watching and warding vntill they put vs on shore on the said Iland of Zant; where they left vs hopelesse (God wot) of going forwards or backwards. There we continued ten dayes, in which time we hired a Greekish ship, being an open boate, and very olde, and full of dangerous leakes; yea, so dangerous were the leakes that, in eleuen daies (in which time

wee passed from Zant to Candia) continually, during all that time, foure men had as much toile as possibly they could indure to laue water out of this rotten boate, which was so weake, that if euen then wee hadde hadde but euer so little rough weather, there had all our hopes, together with our carcasses, perished, and we neuer haue arriued at Candia. Where we made our abode some twelue dayes, vntill our boate was repaired, and made fitter to brooke the seas. In which time the Governor of that Ile (being a Duke vnder the Venetians) sent for Sir Anthony to his Pallace to dinner, who also sent to his lodging a very great and costly banquet, and likewise permitted vs (in great favour) to passe round about the towne, to see the strength thereof; which was reasonably well fortified with ordonance and other adiuncts of warre, especeally on that side that lay towards the sea : the other partes were not so strong, for the ditch about the Towne was drie. The Inhabitants of that towne and Isle are (for the most part) Greekes, whose maners and behaiours doe verifie our English prouerb, which termeth any man pleasantly disposed (by reason of wine or otherwise) a merry Greeke; alluding to these Greekes that always sit drinking and playing the good fellows before their doores : some dauncing arme in arme vp and downe the towne : some others

making some other sports to procure laughter, and thus gamefomely doe they passe their time, as if they were created but for the matter of pleasure. So that to me it seemed no little wonder that that Nation, which heretofore made all the world admire their wisedome and learning, who (in regarde of themselves) held all the world besides but Barbarians or barbarous, should now become such cupshot companions, tripping their nimble wittes with quick and subtle wine, thereby turning all their deepe policie into deepe carowing and shallow iocunditie. But *Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*. Hauing spent those twelue dayes as aforesaide in Candia among those merry Greekes, we eftsoones imbarcked our selues for Ciprus, to which we were some nine dayes passing: where (as the saying is) the Italians (with whom we passed to Zant) did our errand (like knights errand) against our coming. They made reporte to the Turkes inhabiting the same Ile, that we were all pirats, and that they should do wel to lay hands on vs, and to carry vs to the great Turk, their emperor, because, besides that, we were pirats, and came into Turkey but as spies. Wherevpon the Turkes laid handes vpon vs, euen vpon our first arriuell, threatning to haue brought vs to Constantinople: howbeit they staid vs in Ciprus two daies, in which time they

were indifferently well qualified in hope of money we promised them, and which they had to their full contentment ere we parted from them.

This was the worst welcome which we received on shoare since our departure from the English shore, and made vs most to doubt our safety. But within two dayes passage of Candia, as we came towards Ciprus (which I had almost omitted) there is also a Greekish Ile whose name (I am ashamed therefore) I haue quite forgotten: wherevpon we touched and watered, which is some half mile over, hauing one religious house therin and alone, with about some twenty Greeke friggots inhabiting the same, which is (as wee thought) an other Eden, and the most pleasant place that euer our eies behelde for the exercife of a solitary and contemplative life; for it is furnished with the foizen of all Gods good bleffings. All kinde of fruites (as apples, peares, plumbes, orenge, lemmonds, pomegranates and the like) in great aboundaunce groweth there: with most pleasant gardens, replenished with all manner of odoriferous floures and wholesome hearbes for fallets or medicines; wherein breaketh forth many fresh and cristall cleere springs of water, hauing therewithall cattell (as beeues and muttens there naturally bred) more than sufficient to serue that house. In our trauailes many times falling into

daungers and vnpleasant places, this onely Island would be the place where we would wish our selues to end our liues. They haue also this helpe, that if they did want aught, shipping continually passing by that way would soone supply it.

From Ciprus (as from a place we had small reason to take pleasure in, our entertainment was so vnpleasaunt) wee hired a very small boate of some tenne tunne (there being none other to hire) to transporte vs to the Holy Land, the which was but foure and twenty houres failing. But the Turkes (our Taxers) tolde vs that there lay Gallies fraught with Theeues that robbed all that passed that way: notwithstanding, we hoised vp saile, and put our selues to Sea thitherward, abandoning our selues to all the rouing aduentures of Fortune, being accompanied with an other boate which helde her direct course whither we were bound, which was taken (as afterward appeered) and her men drowned. But, as God would haue it (to whome, as well for that, as all our other many many preseruations, beyond all probability and expectation, we were infinitely bound) our boate by the way being taken by an indirect winde to that our direct course, we thereby fell downe vpon Tripoly. Who being guided by an omnipotent and never-failing Pilote, we passed out of the sea into that famous river Orontes, along the

which we held our courſe vp into the countrie, the Janizaries or ſouldiers thereof flocking about vs, threatning that if they might not haue what they demaunded they would cul out ſuch of our company as beſt pleaſed them to ſerue their zodomitical appetites, and moſt vile and villainous purpoſes.

This while we ſent to Antioch, not three dayes iourney off, for certaine Janizaries to ſafeconduſt vs thither, which Janizaries were of our Interpreters acquaintance; who being come, the other left vs immediately, and ſo we paſſed to Antioch, conducted by the Janizaries, which we ſent for thither, where we remained fixe or ſeauen dayes for the company of certaine Merchants that were bound to Aleppo, beeing fixe dayes iorney from Antioch, betweene which Cities in the way were from time to time diuers robberies committed by ſome two hundred Arabs, vntill that inſtant that wee were at Antioch, where we heard that the Janizaries of Aleppo iſſued out againſt theſe robbers, part of whom they killed and the reſt put to flight; by meanes whereof our paſſage was cleared to Aleppo, whither we were bound, and where we were right well entertained by the Engliſh Conſulles, and the reſt of the Engliſh merchants. There we remayned about ſome fixe weekes at the Engliſh houſes, and feaſted (for the moſt parte) while wee there continued. And being

examined by the Bashaw of that place touching our intendement, fir Anthony aunswered that wee were Merchants, desirous to trade to the vtmost confines of his countries ; which was graunted by the Bashaw, with his Passe, together with the English Confulls and vice-confulls.

Leauing heere awhile to prosecute our iorney, I will speake somewhat of the fashion and disposition of the people and country, whose behaviours in point of ciuilitie (besides that they are damned Infidells and zodomiticall Mahomets) doe answer the hate we christians doe iustly holde them in. For they are, beyond all measure, a most insolent, superboous and insulting people, euer more prest to offer outrage to any christian, if he be not well guarded with a Janizarie or Janizaries. They sit at their meat (which is serued to them vpon the ground) as Tailers sit vpon their stalls, crosse-legd ; for the most part passing the day in banqueting and carowing vntill they surfet, drinking a certaine liquor which they do call Coffe, which is made of a feede much like mustard feede, which wil soone intoxicate the braine, like our Metheglin. They will not permitte any christian to come within their churches, for they holde their profane and irreligious Sanctuaries defiled thereby. They haue no vse of Belles, but some priest, three times in the day, mounts the toppe of

their church, and there with an exalted voyce cries out, and inuocates Mahomet to come in post, for they haue long expected his second comming. And if within this fixe yeeres (as they say) he come not (being the vtmost time of his appoyntment and promise made in that behalfe) they haue no hope of his comming. But they feare (according to a prophecie they haue) the Christians at the end therof shal subdue them all, and conuert them to christianitie. They haue wiues in number according to their wealth, two, three, foure or vpwards, according as they are in abilitie furnished to maintaine them. Their women are (for the most part) very faire, barbed euery where; and death it is for anie christian carnally to know them, which were they willing to doe hardly they could attaine it, because they are closely chambered vp, vnlesse it be at such time as they go to their Bastoues, or to the Graues, to bewaile their dead (as their maner is) which once a weeke vsually they doo, and then shall no part of them be discovered neither, but onely their eies, except it be by a great chaunce. The country aboundeth with great store of all kinds of fruit, whereupon (for the most parte) they liue, their cheefest meate being Rice. Their flesh is Mutton and Hennes; which Muttons haue huge broade fatte tails. This meate most commonly they haue but once in the day, all the rest they eate

fruite as aforefaide. They eate very little beefe, vnliſſe it bee the pooreſt fort. Camels for their carriage they haue in great abundance, but when both them and their horſes are paſt the beſt, and vnfit for carriage, the pooreſt of their people eate them.

They haue one thing moſt vſual among them, which though it be right wel knowne to all of our Nation that knowe Turkie, yet it exceedeth the credite of our homebred councitmen, for relating whereof (perhappes) I may be held a liar, hauing authoritie ſo to doe (as they ſay and thinke) becauſe I am a traveller. But the truth thereof (being knowne to al our Engliſhmen that trade or trauel into thoſe partes) is a warrant omniſufficient for the report, how repugnant ſoeuer it be to the beleefe of our Engliſh multitude,

And this it is : when they deſire to heare news, or intelligence out of any remote parts of their country with all celeritie (as we ſay, vppon the wings of the winde) they haue pigeons that are ſo taught and brought to the hand, that they will flie with letters (faſtened with a ſtring about their bodies vnder their wings) containing all the intelligence of occurrents, or what elſe is to be expected from thoſe partes : from whence if they ſhould ſend by camells (for ſo otherwiſe they muſt) they ſhould not heare in a quarter of a yeere, for ſo long would they be in con-

tinuall trauel. As for example ; when any merchandize are to come out of the east Indies, to Mecha or elfewhere of like distaunce, pigeons are carried from Mecha or Aleppo before hand, which is a quarter of a yeeres passage ; then they tie (as before is mentioned) the said letters about the pigeons, acquainting thereby their factors what commodities they haue, and what are like to prooue most vendible : by meanes whereof (whiles their camels are three moneths in comming) they know what merchandize is fit to be kept, and what to doe away.

Now to retorne where I left, and so to goe forward with our iourney : we passed from Aleppo through the heart of the Turkes country, the strength whereof is very small, whereof the christian Princes are ignorant (as it seems) ; for if they knew it, as we do, that with al circumspection observed it, doubtlesse they would with no great difficultie vtterly suppress him, or so extreemely distresse him, that they would constrain him to embrace the christian faith, and rest at their deuotion, or at least remoue his seate from the holy land and parts adiacent. And to giue the Reader a taste how probable this is (lest I should be held as one that knoweth not whereof he doth affirme), there is (as it is there commonly reported, and as commonly knowne) in all Palestine and Syria but one thousand and five hundred Janizaries that

guardes those citties of Aleppo, Damascus, Antioch and Ierusalem. As for Grand-cagro, they are not able to stir, for diuerse Arabs that lie in the hilles betwixt Ierusalem and it; betweene whome and those Turkes of Grand-cagro there is a deadly feud, as the Scot speaketh. As for Babilon and Balsera, they haue likewise continuall wars with those Arabs of Arabia Felix. Besides, there are a great number of christians borne and bred in those partes, which would most willingly be assisting for their libertie.

From Aleppo we set forwards in the middest of August, accompanied with our English merchants three dayes, to wit, vntil we came to a town called Beerah or Birrah, by which runnes the most famous riuier Euphrates, parting Mesopotamia and Syria; where we rested fixe or seauen dayes, whilest boates were preparing for vs and other Turkish merchants: that being done, we parted from our merchants, and betooke our selues to the faide riuier of Euphrates, on the which we were some three and twenty dayes passing downe the same. In which time we came by a castle called Racca, where we were to take in fresh meate, and men to row. But, loe! there happened that a Turke, being in one of the boats in our company, discharged his peece towards the shoare at randon, where he most vnhappily flew a Turke of the towne (the bullet entring his braine); by reason

whereof our boate, aswell as the rest, was stayed, and we constrained to make satisfaction for the mans death : which cost fir Anthony for his company some hundred crownes. Which being payed, and wee discharged, we held on our course from thence some two or three dayes passage ; where we were eftsoones stayed by the King of the Arabs, there liuing vpon the rivers side in tents : before whome we were brought, whose handes we kist ; and demaunding what we were, and what businesse we had in those partes, we replied we were Englishmen and Merchants by our trades, comming for traffike into those partes of the world. Wherevpon this good king tolde vs that he must needes see our merchandize, which we (God wot) durst not contradict ; and so he borrowed (without a priuy seale, or bill of his hand) some thirtie yardes of cloth of siluer vntill our returne. That being done, we had licence to departe to our boate. In whose campe we sawe nothing but a multitude of cammelles, mules, asses, horses, sheepe and goats : from whence wee passed to another towne called Anna.

From thence to a towne called Dire, by which there is a lake or poole of very pitch, which in their language they call the mouth of Hell. It swelles in the middest thereof to the bignesse of an hoghead, and so breaketh with a great puffe, falling flat, and thus

continually it worketh ; whereof there is no bottome to be found, albeit it often hath beene tried by all meanes. There was nothing else woorth the noting, vntill we came where we were to passe by land agayne. So we sent for cammels and horfes to Babilon (being two daies iorny from vs) to carry us thither. Where being no fooner come, for our welcome we had all our merchandize arrested for the vse of the Bashaw of that place, to be payed therefore at his price and pleasure : howbeit we had licence to provide our selues an house, and hee dealt better with vs then we expected, for he gaue vs, by estimation, halfe the woorth of our goodes, which was good pay from so ill a debter. Yet hee extorted from sir Anthony a great deal of plate made of pure emerald, which he purposed to bestow on the Persian king, by vs called the Sophy. Howbeit we preuented him for the one halfe of our goodes, which was carried into the towne in another Turkes name that came with vs, for which fauour we gaue him (by agreement) fortie crownes. At Babilon (being thus entertained) wee remained a moneth, or more ; in which time a Dutchman, being one of our company, had like to haue preferred vs all to the heads-mans handling. For being one day drunke (according to his woont), and withall bearing a grudge to some of our company, went in that moode to some of the

chiefe officers of the Turkes in Babilon, made signes to them that he had some matter of importaunce to deliuer to the Bashaw touching fir Anthony. Which officers sent for an Armenian, a christian, that was then in towne, who had vsed fir Anthony exceeding wel, and was beloued no lesse of these officers, to whome they shewed the signes this Dutchman had made. Hee foorthwith aunswered that he was a drunken companion, and that fir Anthony hadde often beaten him for his immoderate bowzing and continuall drunkenesse, which was (as hee saide in our excuse) the onely cause he thus plaid his parte. And withall desired them to suffer their Janizaries to beate him well, and to send him so beaten to his maister. Which was done (by theyr commaunde) accordingly. Wherevpon fir Anthony was constrained to chamber him vp close, vntil we were past daunger, leauing money with him to carry him backe to Aleppo.

During the time we staid in Babilon we hadde all kinde of fowle, flesh and fish, with great store of venison very cheape.

The old tower of Babel is three dayes iourney from this place, which, by common and iust reporte of the inhabitants of this Cittie, is about the height of Paules at this time, as they by towers of the like height in our estimation described it. It is not hol-

low, but follide thorowout; the bafe or foote whereof is about a quarter of a mile in compaffe. It confiftes of bricke baked in the Sunne, of great breadth and thickenesse, interlined with canes pleated like mattes, which remayne much leffe perished then the bricke.

The tower, which is called Nabuchadnezers Tower, ftands hard by new Babilon, which is fashioned like the other (as it is faid), but not fo high as that we fawe, by which doth runne the famous river Tigris, taking his courfe through the Citie, and fo along by this tower.

Thus hauing spent a moneth, and fomewhat more, in new Babilon, in great feare and perplexitie by reason of the druncken Dutchmans signes and tokens (as before is mentioned), ftaying the moft of that time for a Carauan of the Perfians, and a great company of Merchants, wee receiued Letters from Aleppo by which wee were wifht to make all poffible speede from Babilon, for that wee were difcouered there; fignifying thus much further vnto vs, that there were letters from thence in all poft addreffed to stay vs. By chance this Carauan* of Perfians were gone but one day before we receiued these letters, and had they bin gone foure dayes before, wee would foone haue ouer taken them, in regard of their heauy

* A Carauan is a great many of Camels laden, and men in a company, not much unlike our Carriers (many in a company) heere in England.

lading. But after the receipt of these Letters, it was but like the spurring of the most free horse to hasten vs after them ; for without taking leaue, we stole flily away, and were soone with them : who would not goe the direct way whither wee were bound, but passed through the Medes countrey, which was fve or fixe dayes iourney out of the way, on pilgrimage vnto a certaine Sanctane, a prophet of theirs ; whome we were mooued to accompany more for feare than for any deuotion. In which country, as wee passed, we saw (that which was ruth to see) the confused ruines of maruelous great townes, which had (as it should seeme) flourished when the Medes triumphed, and their commonwealth prospered. This pilgrimage ended, we went on from thence directly the course wee had determined, demanding of the Persians whether we had any more of the Turkish Gouvernours to passe ? who answered, they had one (and that very mighty) called Cobat-bag, by whome we must of necessitie passe. At which answer it had bin an easie matter to haue found a company of poore hearts neere their maisters mouthes ; for to vs remained no hope, but that we should haue bin intercepted there. Yet, as God and good fortune would, some of them (better bethinking themselues), remembered another way, through one Heyder-bags country, who was neighbor to the other, howbeit at continuall

wars with him, in regard whereof we had good hope he would ayde vs. So entring the first night into this Hayder-bags countrey or iurisdiction, the other, hearing thereof, sent vnto our company, that if we would not returne and come by him, hee would in the morning with his troupes cutte vs into gobbets. Then were wee in worfe plight than at any time before : notwithstanding, wee resolving to fel our blouds as deere as wee coulede (since auoyde that extremitie wee coulede not) wee therevppon tooke heart of grace, and about midnight wee arose with bag and baggage, and so held on our course through Hyder-bags country. When in the breake of day wee might descry a troupe of horses comming towards vs, which wee verily imagined to be the ennemy ; but wee were luckily deceiued, for it was he that gouerned that country, who came to our succours, and safely to conuoy vs through the same, hauing hadde some intelligence before of our progresse that way.

Which hauing passed in safetie through his gentle assistance and conduction, wee were indifferent well at the hearts ease, albeit we had fixe dayes iourney to passe (ere we should enter the confines of Persia) through the Courdes country, which is by interpretation the theeus country. The people whereof are altogether addicted to theeuing, not much vnlike the

wilde Irish, so that as we passed through them, euery night wee didde encampe, they flily stale more or lesse from vs, watcht we neuer so warily : else would they doe but little hurte. This people doe liue altogether in tents, keeping of cattell.

Hauing passed this pilfering people, we then happily entred the king of Persiaes country, where vpon our first entrance we thought we had bin imparadized, finding our entertainment to be so good, and the maner of the people to be so kinde and curteous (farre differing from the Turkes) especially when they heard we came of purpose to their king. We passed from the bordures nine daies iourney ere wee came to Casbin, where wee expected the residence of the king ; during all which time we passed by no great townes woorth the noting, vntil wee came thither, hauing sent a Currier before to signifie what wee were to the Governor of the citty, lest by our fodayne approach, our welcome should haue bin the lesse, and his maruell the more. Who thereupon prepared for vs a house of the kings, furnisht with such ornaments as befitted a great State. We came into the cittie by night, for that we would not be first seene in our traueilling apparell. Howbeit the Governour the next morning, together with the chiefe of the kings house, came with a great traine to salute sir Anthony, affuring him that his comming

would be right pleasing and acceptable to the king : but signified vnto him that hee then was in person against the Tartares, his bordurers, with whome hee had warres, to whome at that time he had in a pitched field giuen a mightie ouerthrowe. And therevpon dismist a poste to the king, signifying vnto him that there was come a christian (right well attended) to see him by reason of the great fame he had heard of him. Which when by the poste he vnderstoode, he made as much expedition as possibly hee could (with respect had to his great affaires) to come to sir Anthony. There we remained some three weeks before he came.

In which time we were banquetted, and right royally intreated by the Gouvernour and the kings Steward, who brought vs to the kings gate to offer that homage that all strangers doe ; that is to kisse the entrance to the Pallace three times. Against the kings comming wee apparelled our selues in the best maner we could, with such stuff as we brought with vs ; that is to say, sir Anthony himselfe in cloth of golde, the vpper coate and vnder. His brother in cloth of siluer, the vpper and vnder. Sixe gentlemen, their lower coates filke, the vpper cloth of siluer. Foure of his chiefeest seruants in filke vnder-coates, the vpper, crimson velvet. The rest of his seruants in a prettie kinde of bombaste stufte, all the vpper

coats watchet damafke, our whole number being fix and twenty, which made a very seemly shew, the fashion of our apparrell somewhat differing from the Perfian.

Now, by this time that we were thorowly thus furnished and fitted, the king approched within fve miles, where he encamped : from whence he sent to his Gouvernour, commaunding him to furnish our company the next day with horses, to the end we might come foorth to meete him on the way, which was performed on either part accordingly. He comming in great triumph, hauing borne before him, aduanced vpon pikes, oue thousand and two hundred heads of the conquered Tartares, whose king and his sonne hee led along in triumph, hauing taken them prisoners : which triumph was continually more and more graced and augmented by the country as hee passed, each one indeauouring (according to his power) to giue him welcome from the warres. Himselfe being accompanied with all his nobles and great men in diuerse troupes, that wee could not see anything all the way but men and horses, with such thundering of trumpets, kettle drummes (carried vpon camells), and such like instruments of warre, that a man would haue thought heauen and earth were tilting together. Their trumpets being all straight, fom two yards and an half in length, hauing such a

deepe, harsh and horrible voyce that it would amaze a man to heare them, if he neuer heard them before. At length we were brought into the prefence of the King, as hee thus passed in triumph : wee all dismounting our horses to kisse his foote (as the maner is) sir Anthony first, who offering to performe that complement, the king, out of speciall and vnusual fauour, put his hand betweene his mouth and his foote, and would not permit him to doe it ; so all the rest in order kissed his foote : which beeing done, the king called sir Anthony vnto him, tolde him that hee was right heartily welcome to him, and to his country, which ere his departure he saide he should finde indeede. Who, suffering not sir Anthony to reply, caused his horse to be brought, and so he rode on next to the king. Where, in a while after, we might see a great troupe of curtezans of the citie come riding richly appparelled to salute the king, and to welcome him from his warres. Their apparel little differing in fashion from the mens, but only in their head attire and vpper coats. They weare breeches, and ride astride as men do, and came with such a crie as the wilde Irish make. The multitude of people were so great (consisting of actors and spectators) that we had much adoe in fixe houres to passe three miles, which was from the place where we met the king to the market place of the Cittie. Vnto

which at length being come, the king brought vs to the doore of the house where we should alight, scituate in the same, commaunding one of his great men to place vs therein, whilst himselfe rid about some houre or two to see the shewes and matters of triumph perfourmed. Which being done he returned to sir Anthony, where being set vpon the ground with carpets vnder him, according to the custome of the countrey, commaunding stooles to be brought for sir Anthony and his brother, there sir Anthony made his Oration : which being ended, the king discoursed with him of his trauelles, of his natieue countrey, the manner of government there, and of diuerse other things that accidentally became the subiect of their discourse : the particularities whereof sir Anthony answered to the kings high contentment ; and further possesst the king with such a burning desire to inuade the Turks dominions (by reason his strength was so small, as before is mentioned, and then at large sir Anthony vnfolded) that he would, on the very necke of that his late victorie, before his blood was colde (as it were) haue entred into action against the Turke, to the which sir Anthony ceased not to animate him, for a double grudge he bare him, to witte, for being such a mortall ennemy to Christ, and for vsing them so like mortall ennemies, being christians : howbeit, that expedition was for a time deferred, yet

neuertheleffe fully refolued on. Thefe and the like made the king instantly to conceiue fo exceeding well, and grew more and more into fuch liking of fir Anthony, that once a day at leaft he would fend for him to conferre, and complement with him: yea, fometimes he muft be sent for to come to his bed-chamber at midnight (accompanied with his brother) for that purpofe.

The king continued in that towne about fome thirty dayes, where many nights the people entertained him with fpectacles and fhewes in their Bafars, which we doe call shoppes, all couered ouer head as the Royall Exchange. At which alwayes we muft meete the king. Their manner is to make the greateft fhew of thofe wares they haue in foure long ftreetes, in the middeft whereof is a round kinde of ftage, couered with costly carpets, whereon is layde all kinde of fruites, confections, and wine for the king to banquet withall.

After that he hath feene all the fhewes, towards night they fet vp as many lights as poffible can ftand one by another, confifting all of lamps, fo that by eftimation there burneth at once, in thofe foure ftreetes, a hundred thoufand lamps, fo clofe vpon and round about their ftalls vpon the ground, that a man can hardly put his hand betweene each lampe. After which fights he goeth to that place appointed for the

banquet, where banqueting till midnight, beeing folaced all the while with all kinds of musicke of instruments and voice, with boyes and curtezans, dauncing straunge kinds of Iigges and Lauoltaes : without which curtezans no banquet, be it neuer so costely, hath any rellish with them. Howbeit no mans wife comes thereat ; neither is it possible (or if it be, very rarely) for a man once to see a woman, if shee be once married and her husband liuing, no, though it be her owne naturall brother. So ielous are husbands of their wiues loues and chastities, and such cause of fuspition is there amongst them in that respect. There is a custome in that country that, if the king purpose to make any man great by enoblizing him, he hath a very rich chaire sette with stones caried after him, wherein he placeth that man at his banquet in publike asseembly. This chaire was brought for sir Anthony to sit in, and he by the king placed therein accordingly. Which made the people much to admire that accident, in that hee vouchsafed that high fauour to a stranger, without desert or experience of his worth ; whereas accustomably he would haue great prooffe of a mans worthinesse before he would so vouchsafe to dignifie him. Instantly as he caused sir Anthony to sit, he gaue him his owne girdle from about him, for a further fauour : which was all of some golden stufte, very

curious and costly, three yards long and an ell broad.

Three dayes after, he sent a present to sir Anthony, beeing a certaine demonstration of the great estimation he hadde him in. Which was fortie horses, furnished with saddles, &c., foure of which were very rich and faire, fit for the proper vse of any prince, twelue camels for carriage, together with six mules, foure and twenty carpets, most of them rich and faire, three tents or paulions, with all other necessaries of house; last of al, six men laden with siluer. The steward that brought it tolde sir Anthony that the king had sent him that to defray his charges till the next remoue, which was ten dayes off. I neede not speake more of the kings bountie: let the world by this imagin the rest, and how he entreated sir Anthony.

And albeit the fashion and maner of the Persians is not vnknowne to many of our English nation, as hauing by their owne trauelles attained that knowledge, or by reading or credible report bin informed thereof, yet somewhat to speake touching the same, I hold it not altogether amisse, for the better information of those (my countrymen) that doe not so well know it. For the sitting at meate on the ground, with their manner of foode and feeding, it is much after the Turkish guise. Their deuotion, as the

Turkes, but somewhat diffirent in religion. As the Persian praieth only to Mahomet, and Mortus Ally, the Turke to those two, and to three other that were Mahomets seruants. Against which three the Persian still inueighs, and hath in al townes men that carry axes on their shoulders, challenging them to rise againe, and they are there prest to incounter them by force of armes.

They vse much exercife, as hawking and hunting, with very much shooting. Their hawkes are excellent good, which they beare on their right hand without hood or bell.

The merchandize and commodities which Persia yeeldeth are filkes, both rawe and otherwise, of all futes and colours: spices, drugges, pearles, and other pretious jems, together with carpets of diuers kinds. These, with many other commodities of this nature, Persia plentifully affoordeth.

They write from the right side of the paper to the left, like the Turkes, contrary to our manner. Their letters or characters being so irregular, and (as we would thinke) deformed, that to vs it seemeth the writing of some vtterly vnskilfull in letters or learning, or as a wilde kind of scribbling, that hath therein neither forme nor matter: howbeit they affirm their writing is most compendious, and euery letter (well neere) with his circumflex importeth a whole word, though consisting of many fillables.

They haue not many Bookes, much leffe great libraries, among their best clarkes. They are no learned nation, but ignorant of all kinde of liberall or learned sciences, and almost of all other arts and faculties ; except it be in certaine things pertaining to horses, furniture, and some kindes of carpettings and filke workes, wherein they excell.

They haue neither golde nor siluer from any mines of their owne, for they haue none : howbeit they haue money made of both kindes in great plenty, together with some small coyne made of copper, like our Bristow tokens.

Theyr conceit of Christ is, that hee was a very great Prophet, and a most holy and religious man, but no way comparable to Mahomet ; for Mahomet (say they) was that finall prophet, by whom all things were and are perfected and consummated. They further say, that because God had neuer wife, therefore Christ cannot possibly be his sonne.

If any man conspire treason against the king, or otherwise capitally offend him, hee is punished, not only in his owne person, but in his whole Tribe.

If they affirme any matter with an othe, they fwear by God and Mahomet, or Mortus Ally : and when they would be beleued they sweare by all three at once.

They circumcise their children at seauen yeeres

olde, according to the custome of their neighbour the Turks.

In making water, the men kowre downe like the women; and when they doe it, they haue a spowte or springer to spirt some part of their water vppon their priuy partes, aswell men as women, which they holde as a kinde of religious duty, and which in no fort must be neglected.

They buy and sell men and women in the market, which is a principall merchandize of theirs among them felues. If they buy any yoong women there, they feele them euery where. If a man buy a bond-woman for his owne carnalitie, and she prooue false to him, hee may (by their lawe) kill her, as he may a dog in England.

In praying, they turne their faces towardes the South, as wee doe towardes the East, because Mecha, where Mahomet is encoffined in yron (which by force of a Temples roofe, consisting of Adament, hangeth, as it were, by way of myracle in the ayre) lieth in Arabia, which is South from them. To which who-soeuer shall go on pilgrimage (as many of them doe) they are euer held for most holy and sacred Saintes, which they call Setes; and not only themselues are so reputed, but the posteritie of that man are so accounted, and of themselues are so perswaded. For if one shall in any thing contradict them, either

in faying or in dooing, they will ouer-rule him, and exact credit and beleefe with all obedience, by faying he is a Saint at leaft, and therefore, on paine of damnation, muft be beleeued and highly eftimated, although hee lie neuer fo loudely, and do neuer fo lewdly.

Their buildings are (for the moft part) made of bricke hardned in the fand, not made with fire as ours are: wherein they haue very little furniture other then carpets vpon their floores; and fuch the pooreft man hath, but the goodnes thereof is according to the abilitie of the owners: their houfes are all made with flatte roofes without, covered with a kinde of plaifter, or earth fspread plaifterwife.

Neere vnto a towne called Backo, in Perfia, there iffueth out of the earth, in the manner of a water-fpring, a certaine kind of oyle in great abundance, which they (from all parts of the Perfian dominions) do fetch vpon Camels, Kine and Affes, to burne in lamps, which are the lights they vse in their houfes.

The people are now very curteous, using all ftrangers with great kindneffe and ciuilitie, efpecially fince this King hath gouerned. Howbeit (by report) they haue beene heretofore little better (in that refpect) then the Turks.

The names of the parts of Perfia, that in times paft were diftinct kingdomes, are, Cafuin, Hafphane,

Saraze, Kughgollo, Sufter, Curdistan, Hammadan, Kirmans vpon Corrozan. These this King had when he came first to the crowne : these following he tooke and wan since : Tuntabas, Coffe, Corrazon, Buchora, Vrgans, Taskane, Strabat, the kingdoms of Mascendran, Marcu, Rustendar, Nure-cugge. The kingdomes of Ieglands, the first Iegland, Reast, Sanghtofer, Caskeger, Aderbegfan, beeing a great kingdome.

These townes following were lost by his Predecessors to the Turke, viz. Tawris, Saruan, Samachy, Iange, Berthe, with many others, which the Persian doth now hope to recouer ; beeing farre better able then in times past, for that he hath drawne all the fore-mentioned townes and parts into his possession : which, when his Predecessors would inuade the Turke before, these would impeach and mollest him behinde ; so that now he stands secure from all inuasion of the borderers, whereby he is able to carry all his force cleere without interruption against the Turke, which at the least will be foure hundred thousand strong. Vpon which vndertaking he is (as was before mentioned) fully resolu'd ; but first, by sir Anthonies aduice, he is determined to ioine in league, amitie and confederacie with the Christian princes, by meanes whereof he may the sooner preuaile in his purpose, and thereby vtterly suppress

the Turke. Howbeit, his counsellors were all obstinately bent against these determinations and proceedings at the first; yet the king, with his generall, who is a Georgian Christian (still animated and provoked therevnto by sir Anthonies forcible perswasions) were resolute and confident in the cause; and being so irremouable; at last preuailed, and all the rest absolutely assented. And by that mutuall consent of the king and his counsell, no man was thought so fit to be employed in Embassie to the christian princes (to the purpose aboue recited) as sir Anthony, being a Christian, and the first mouer of the king to these vndertakings, appointing a great man of the Persians to accompany him in those busineses, but the whole burden thereof to lie onely vpon sir Anthony, who vndertooke the same accordingly.

Which being concluded and thus vndertaken, wee were ready to departe from the King's court, lying then at Hasphane, when suddainly there came newes of a Portingall fryer that was comming thither, accompanied with two other fryers, and foure seruants: this fryer stayed some three miles off the towne, and sent the two others with letters to sir Anthony, whereby he signified vnto him that he was the last King of Portingales brother, and that hee was sent by the King of Spaine as Procurator generall of al the East Indies. Sir Anthony, beleeuing it,

went himfelfe, accompanied by as many chriſtians as he could get, to the Frigot. And after mutuall greetings, hee tolde fir Anthony, that hearing of his great and weighty buſineſſes, and ſo godly a worke (he being a great biſhoppe of the King of Spaines) came poſting night and day to aſſiſt him therein. Which fir Anthony was right glad of, and to manifeſt the ſame the better, hee brought him along to his owne houſe, and there diſlodged his brother to lodge him.

This being done, hee tolde fir Anthony that hee greatly deſired to ſee the King, for that hee had a preſent to beſtow on him; which fir Anthony ſoone procured. But now, by the way, this preſent was deliuered to him in truſt to be deliuered to the king: howbeit hee preſented it in his owne name; in requitall whereof the King gaue him a Crucifixe worth (by eſtimation) a hundred pounds and better: which villany, and many others, fir Anthony afterwards diſcouered, though the meane while he held him for a holy man.

Ere we departed from the King, he would faine (by the King's Commiſſion) haue bin an Agent in the preſent action, wherein fir Anthony was principally employed; and likely he was to haue bin one, with vniuerſall conſent, but that the writings, and all other things therevnto incident, were before per-

fected and finished. And seeing he could be no actor (as hee desired) by reason thereof, hee intreated sir Anthony to procure the King's fauourable letters in his behalfe to the Pope, and the King of Spaine, which sir Anthony did accordingly. In requitall whereof, he beganne (vnder-hand) to deale with those of the Kings councill, which had bin backwards in the beginning of these businessees, who assured them that sir Anthony was not able to performe so great a negotiation. Which sir Anthony perceiuing, hee made all the haste he possibly could to be gone, the rather because he had waded somewhat too farre with this execrable frier, who, the first night he lodged in sir Anthonies house, found the meanes to haue a Persian curtezan to lie with him, and so had night by night during his continuance there; which if he wanted hee would hire a boy zodomitically to vse. And that he was a zodomitically wretch it dooth appeare hereby: sir Anthony, at his first comming, bought two christian boies in the market, which afterwardees he bestowed on this Frier, whose name was Nicolao de Melo. He no sooner had them, but he was in hand with them concerning his zodomitically villany. The boyes, finding whereto hee was inclined (beeing incesfauntly importuned by him to yeelde to his beastly desire) complained to him that solde them, hee likewise to

the Officer, the Officer to the King, by meanes whereof the King espied his villany. Whereuppon the King sent for the boyes from him, and sent him worde, that were it not for fir Anthonies sake, he should lose his head.

Soone after wee departed, taking the Frier and one of his fellowes with vs, hauing eightene dayes iourney from the Persian Court to Iegland, where wee were imbarcked to crosse the Caspian sea. In which time the frier confessed he was but an ordinary Augustine frier, and in a gamesome vaine he further confessed how he would bring mennes wiues, after hee had shriuen them, to his bent, as taking aduantage of their confessed faultes: and to close vppon this, and such like good talke in the day, wee should be sure to take him with a whoore at night. And I will tell you a ieast concerning him, which I hadde almost forgotten.

One day at Casbin hee sent his man to a whoore, feeling her with two Chickins (which is two rialles) to come vnto him at night, taking vppon him the name of the Embassador. The kinde wench, being true of promise, came vnto fir Anthony, who demanding the cause of her comming, shee tolde him all, &c. So the wench went away *gratis* with the money, the frier not daring to demand it.

Thus hauing merrily passed the time with this

fory Frier, and being come to the place where we shoulde be imbarked, wee stayed there one moneth for the Persian Peere that was to goe along with vs, as before is mentioned.

Upon whose comming, wee presently imbarked ourselues for Haster-caune, which is the first landing place of the Emperour of the Rusciaes countrey to Persia ward.

Vpon the Caspian sea (which wee were to croffe) wee were two moneths before wee landed; which time wee indured with much paine, and no lesse feare, hauing (besides the naturall roughnesse of the sea) very much foule and stormy weather: by reason whereof wee had beene like to haue suffered shipperwacke, which twice strooke on ground, so that wee were constrained to disburden the same of a great parte of our substaunce. Howbeit, in the end, God so blessed vs that in two moneths wee came to our wished harborow. Where being arriued, the Gouernor, hauing intelligence of our landing, sent a Captayne with a garde to receiue vs, and to conduct vs to the castle of Haster-caune, where was landed but the day before an Embassadour that the King of Persia had sent a moneth before, onely to make our passage through the Emperour of Ruscia his countrey.

From which castle to Musco towne we were, by

riuer and by land, tenne weekes passing. All which time fir Anthony and his company, with the other embassadours and their attendants, were all at the charge of the Rufcian Emperour, (for so is the custome of that Country to all Trauelles of that nature, as long as they are passing through his dominions) who eates such meate as is brought before them *gratis*, hauing withall a garde set ouer them, so that they are little better then prisoners, as long as they are within the limites of his territories.

From Hafter-caune we past by bote along the mighty river of Volgo, vntill we came to a towne named Negson, which was seauen weekes passage. In which time wee sawe nothing woorthy of noting, but three or foure wooden Castles or Blocke-houses to garde that riuer, which riuer dooth bring maruellous great commodities to the Emperour and to the whole countrey.

Diuerse Tartars, passing from place to place about that Riuer, liuing in little houses made vpon wheelles, are carried to and fro, hauing aboundaunce of cattell, liue so in subiection to the Emperour, paying him tribute, &c.

One onely faire Cittie we saw in all that while, called Caffane, wherein wee were : from whence wee passed to Negson aforefayd, where, by the way, fel out a iarre betweene fir Anthony and the other Em-

baffador, becaufe fir Anthony prefumed to reprehend him for diuers mifdemeanors which hee committed, to the difhonor of his king and countrey : infomuch that, had we not had garde in our company, one of vs had killed another. Leauing heere a while, I will turne agayne to the Frier, who was by this time growne into mortall hatred with hys fellow Frier, of whome before I fpake, whose name was Alfonfo, a Frier of the order of Saint Francis. Which Frier had acquainted fir Anthony, that Frier Nicolao had fpent his life moft lewdly in the Indiaes, the particularities whereof he at large related.

Moreouer, hee tolde hym, that by reafon of his licentious life, the king of Spaine had fent for hym, becaufe hee did much more hurte than good in thofe parts, but neuer would come, vntill nowe that hee was going thitherward.

He alfo tolde fir Anthony, that that prefent which hee deliuered the King of Perfia in his owne name, was fent by a friend of the Kings from Ormous by another, who had withal a letter to the King. Which bearer (beeing of his acquaintance) hee inueigled and inticed by the gift of fifty Crownes and fayre wordes, to deliuer hym the prefent, together with the letter to carry to the King, who finally preuayled wyth hym. And when hee came to Perfia, hee fuppreffed

the letter, but delyuered the present in his owne name, as before is declared.

Vppon discouery of which villanies, fir Anthony tooke hym prifoner, and carried him along wyth hym, as one depriued of former liberty.

And being come to Negfon, we stayed there neare hand a moneth. Towardes the end whereof, the Emperour sent a great man of his Court thither, for to accompany and conduct vs to Musco, who gaue the preheminance to the Persian Embassador, in that he was Embassadour to the Emperour from the Persian, and fir Anthony but a passenger through his countrey, as hee esteemed hym, and so did vse at his pleasure, to fir Anthonies small contentment, vntill we came to Musco, where wee were entertayned in the best sorte they could, with a crue of aqua-vitæ-bellyed fellowes, clad in coates of cloth of gold : which shew being ended for the first encounter, those coates were put vp agayne into the Treasury or Wardrobe, and wee shut vp in prifon for tenne dayes ; yea, all acceffe of others to vs, or we to them, was thereby vtterly barred. In which time wee sent to entreate, that eyther our English merchants might be permitted to come to vs, or that wee might goe or send to them for necessaries, because we were not fitted wyth clothes (as we thought) conuenient for the Emperors presence.

Wherevpon the Lord Chauncellor sent for the merchants, enquiring of them what fir Anthony was, and whether they durst giue hym any credite? To whome they replied, that hee was nobly descended, and alied euen to the best men of England; yea, and that they woulde giue hym credite for as much as they were woorth.

Herevppon they had liberty to fend vs such necessities as wee sent for, but no liberty to come to vs, much lesse we to them.

The tenth day wee were sent for to come before the Emperor after theyr order, which was, to lay downe in a note howe euery man shoulde bee marshalled in comming (beeing all on horsebacke), wherein the Persian Embassadour was appoynted by the Emperor to haue the first and chiefe place; the next, that Persian that was sent but to accompany fir Anthony; and the last of the three shoulde be fir Anthony hymselfe.

Which when fir Anthony perceyued, hee vtterly refused to goe in that order, because that he, to whose trust and charge the whole businesse had beene committed, and by whome the same was solely procured, by which Persia likewise shoulde be infinitely benefited (specially he being a christian, and they Pagans) should be put hindermost in the march, that was the formost in the matter.

By the meanes of which refusall hee purchased the Emperours displeasure; and to manifest the same, first he tooke the frier from sir Anthony, and gaue him his libertie to goe whither hee thought good. Next, hee daily sent his great Dukes to examine sir Anthony vpon diuers friuolous particularities, to prooue if they thereby might groape out some matter of aduantage against him.

Thus daily hee was extreemely vexed and molested by the Emperour; the Persian Embassadour, withall, setting on the Frier vnder-hand to deuise all the villany he could against him: as to say, hee knew sir Anthony to be but a man of meane parentage, and also that hee was come but as a Spie through the Countrey for purposes tending to his owne good, and not of Persia and Christendome, as hee pretended. Whereupon they tooke all the Kings Letters from him, and opened them to know the purport thereof.

Soone after, sir Anthony and the Frier were brought before the Commissioners to be further examined; where sir Anthony (beeing inflamed with choler by reason of his exceeding ill vsage, notwithstanding the goodnesse of the cause of his comming) demaunded, whether the Emperour did euer purpose to send any Embassadours to any other Countries? Protesting that if euer hee mette with them in any

partes of the world besides theyr owne, hee would indeuour to let them knowe hee was not halfe so well intreated in Ruscia as the cause of his comming of right deserued, and the Emperour, by the lawes diuine and ciuil, ought to haue perfourmed; and the rather, because hee was a Christian, such as hee pretends himselfe to be, and came (as became a christian) for the generall good of al Christendome, the Persian beeing stirred vp therevnto by his onely meanes. Wherevpon the Frier in terms thwarted sir Anthony, whose blood already boyled with the excesse of his chollers heate, which as then abounded, and beeing by that gracelesse and vngratefull Frier further prouoked, hee, not able (though instantly he should haue died for it) to suppress his heate, gaue the fatte Frier such a sound box on the face (his double cause of choller redoubling his might, desire of reuenge withall augmenting the same) that downe falles the Frier, as if hee had beene strooke with a thunder-bolt. Which beeing doone (with that courage and high resolution which well appeared in his lookes, wordes and deedes) they foorthwith gaue ouer examination, because they had too far examined sir Anthonies patience, which well they with feare (as I thinke) sawe, and the Frier (almost past feare) did farre better feele. Wherevpon they went instantly to the Emperour, and informed him of all that had

happened, and howe fir Anthony was resolued. For which (as by the euent it appeered) hee was vsed the better; for from thence forward we had liberty to go to the Englishmen, of whom we were very honorably entertained; and royally feasted. Howbeit we were constrained to remaine there fixe moneths, expecting euery day (for all this) some mischiefe to be doone vnto vs, or to be sent into some parte of his country to be kept, where wee should not haue heard from our friendes in haste, which we feared woorse then death. Yet, in the end, wee were estoones sent for before the priuy councell, where fir Anthony had his charge to be gone, which was no small ioy to vs all.

But the day before wee left Muscouia, it was my fortune to see the King and his Queene in cerimonious and triumphant manner passing out of the Citty, with a great Image and a huge Bell to offer to a certayne Friery, some thirty miles off, which was performed in this sorte. Firft, all the morning diuers troupes of horse passed out of the Citty, to stand ready to receiue him at his comming out of the gate. About midday, the King setting forwards, his guard formost, all on horsebacke to the number of fise hundred, all clad in stammel coats, riding in ranke, three and three, with bows and arrowes, and swords girt to them, as also hatchets under the one thigh.

After the garde were ledde by twenty men twenty goodly^{er} horses, with very rich and curious saddles, and ten more for his sonne and heire apparant, beeing a childe of twelue yeeres of age. After which was ledde, in like forte, twenty beutifull white horses for the Queenes chariots, hauing onely vppon them a fine sheete, and on theyr heades a crimosin veluet bridle. After them came a great number of Friers in theyr rich coapes, singing, carrying many pictures and lights. After them followed the greatest parte of the merchants of the Citty. Next them was ledde the Kings horse for that day, together with his sonnes: the Kings saddle and furniture most richly besette with stones of great price and beauty. Then followed the Patriarch, wyth all the Archbishoppes, Bishoppes, and great Prelates, singing in their coapes, very rich and glorious, hauing huge Images borne before them, beeing very richly inlayed with pretious Jems of diuerse colours, and lights about them. Then followed the King himselfe, who had in his left hand his sonne, aboue mentioned, and in his right hand his cappe. Next him came the Queene, supported on eyther side by two olde Ladies, her face euen thickly plaistered with painting, as were other Ladies (according to the custome of the Countrey); hir body very groffe, hir eyes hollowe and far into hir head, attended with

some three score very fayre women (if painting (which they holde a matter religious) deceiued not the iudgement of mine eie). All whose apparel was very rich, beset with pearle curiously wrought, hauing white hattes on theyr heads, with great round bands laden with pearle. We neuer saw hattes worne by any women in the Country, but by them onely. Next vnto them was drawne three huge chariots, the first with tenne fayre white horses, two and two; the second with eight, and the third with fixe, in like order: which chariots were al very rich and gorgeous within and without. After which all the noble men passed in coaches. Then was caried, in a great chest, the forenamed Image, guarded by a great man and state of the Country, with some five hundred vnder his command, for the garde and conuoy of that Image. And last of all came that huge bell, beeing of twenty tunne weight, drawne by three thousand and five hundred men (not being possible to be drawne by oxen or horses) in manner following. They fastned fixe exceeding long hawfers, or mighty great gable ropes, in six lengths, to the frame whereon the bell was placed. In this ranke of ropes were placed those three thousand and fixe hundred men with little cordes ouer their shoulders, fastned to the great hawfers, drawing after the manner of our Westerne barge-men heere in England.

The poyse of the Bell was so great, that passing along the streetes of Musco (being pauered with great square peeces of timber sette close one by another) the woodde of the frame of the carriage whereon the bell was drawne, set the timber of the streets on fire, through both the woods chafing together; so that some were faine to followe hard after to throwe on water as the timbers beganne to smoake. And thus was this bell and Image conueyed to the Friery, as hath afore beene sayde.

The next day following we tooke our iourney (that is to say in mid Maie) towards Saint Nicolas, to take shipping, which was some fixe weekes passage by land and riuer. During all which time we saw nothing, in a maner, but woods and water. But being come to the sea side, being the place where wee were to take ship, we stayed there one moneth for prouision for our iourney.

In which time we were diuers times inuited aboorde English shippes, where we were roially banquetted at the Agents charges, and the merchants. To the solemnization of which banquets we had three hundred great shot. And as we stayed there, one Maister Megricke, a merchant, came from Musco, and brought the Friers two letters with hym, reporting that the Lord Chauncellor, in satisfaction of the wrong and ill vsage he extended to sir Anthony, sent

after the Frier to the borders, who tooke both his letters, and all his substance, that he had deceitfully and lewdly gotten, in many yeares before, in the Indiaes, from him, leauing him not so much as his Friers weede: and whether hee caused his throate to be cut it was vncertayne, but not vnlike.

Thus, as this lewd wretch had (as peradventure he thought) passed the pikes of Gods iudgements bent against him, and threatening his ruine for his feuerall villanies, and that (as to him perhappes it seemed) he was nowe euen entring the confines of his owne countrey, furnished with Letters in his commendation from the Persian mighty Potentate to his liege lord the king of Spaine, whereby he thought to haue attained (notwithstanding his former leud life in the Indies) great reputation and preferment, euen then was he ouertaken wyth a vengeance, and payed home with a mischiefe, to the vtter losse of his Letters, wherein so much he ioyed, his substance that was all his liueloode, and (as it is most likely) of his life, the leudnesse whereof brought vppon him these vnexpected (yet well deserued) miseries.

A good caueat for all those that vnder God almighties coate will play all deuellish pranks, whereof there are but too many (in these last dayes, and therefore the worst dayes) crept into his holy church

in all quarters of Christendome, making the same sacred house of praier (which ought with all prayer and holy indeuor to bee preferued from all pollution and polluted persons) a very denne of theeues, as it is in the Gospel, that walke continually in sheepes clothing, but inwardely they are rauening woolues : They are knowne by theyr workes.

From hence wee tooke shippe for Stoad, beeing fixe weekes vppon the Sea ere wee coulde recouer it. In which time we were continually tossed and tumbled with contrary Windes ; and once had beene like to haue beene vtterly cast away, so that wee were ouerwhelmed in despayre, as wee were at poynt to be in the Sea, but that (by Gods protection and direction) we (past all expectation) fell vppon the Flie. Where (hauing diuers Letters of sir Anthonies to his friendes in England) I parted from him (he holding his course toward the Emperour of Germany) : from thence I came to the Tassell, then to Firme ; so to the Hage : from the Hage to Vlushing ; and finally from thence to Douer, where I landed in the middest of the moneth of September, in the three and fortieth yeere of the Queenes Maiesties reigne, and in the yeere of our Lorde God, one thousand fixe hundred and one.

I. D. of Hereford in praise of
William Parry
Gentleman.

To creepe like Ants about this earthie Round,
And not to gather with the Ant, is vaine :
Some finde out Countries which were neuer found,
Yet scarcely get their labour for their paine :
Whereby I gather, there they gather not,
But rather scatter. Better lost than found
Were all such Countries. *Will*, such is thy lot :
Thou hast lost ground to finde out other ground,
Yet thou hast found much more than thou couldst lose,
Thogh thou couldst lose more than the Seas confine;
For thou hast found that none could finde, but those
That seeke, as thou hast done, for Wisedomes eine,
And thats Experience ; no where to be scene,
But eu'ry where where thou (good *Wilt*) hast
beene.

Tam Arte Quam Marte.

INTRODUCTION.

WE have little to say in the way of introduction to the ensuing composition by an author—Edmond Becke—otherwise altogether unknown. We reprint it as a curious specimen of argumentative divinity in verse, directed against an opinion entertained by many at the time it was written and published. Ritson (*Bibliogr. Poet.*, p. 128) mentions the existence of such a tract; but it is clear that he had never seen it, or he would not have stated that it was printed by John Day, when in fact it was printed by William Seres and John Day conjointly. Those who have followed Ritson (see Lowndes' *Bibl. Man.*, edits. 1834 and 1857) have taken his word for it. The only date is on the title-page.


We are not aware that any other copy is extant, but that we have used; and its extreme rarity is proved by the omission of the slightest notice of it by Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin. We have, of course, nothing to say upon the question discussed by the author, but many will be amused by the ingenuity he displays in the treatment of it in rhyme. Becke seems to have fancied, that his purpose of producing an impression upon the multitude in favour of his own dogma was more likely to be attained by the attraction of verse, than by dull prose. For the event, see Stow's *Annales*, p. 1019, edit. 1605; and p. 604, edit. 1631, etc.

J. P. C.

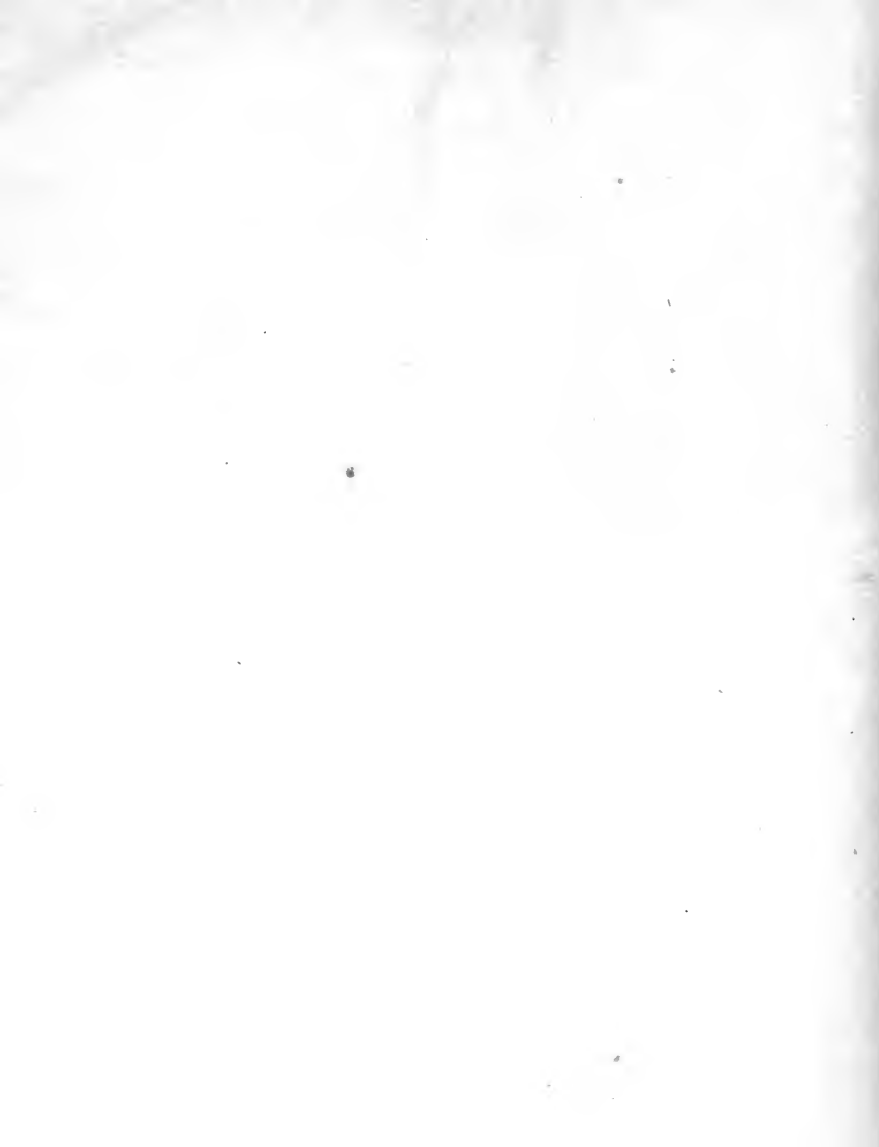
A brefe Con-
futation of this most de-
testable, and Anabaptistical opinion,
that Christ dyd not take hys flesh of the
blessed Vyrgyn Mary nor any corporal sub-
staunce of her body. For the main-
tenaunce whereof Jhone Bucher,
otherwise called Jhone of Kent,
most obstinately suffered,
and was burned in
Smythfyelde,
The ii. day
of May.

 *Anno domini*

M. D. L.

 Cum priuilegio ad Impri-
mendum solum.





A brefe Confutation.

SO fubtile is fathan, our Enemy Immortal,
When he is transformed into an angell of light,
He captiuates oure fences, fo fond and phantaftical,
That we doubt not to deme the day to be nighte.
By fuche lieng fpirites seduced is the fight :
And with pernicious opinions amafed in a mifte,
Are all they that beleue not the incarnation of Chrift.

In the primatiue church, within fortie yeres
After Chriftes afencion, this darnell begonne
To fpringe vp by Marcion, his complices and feers,
Whom Policarpus called the deuyls eldeft fonne.
The Anabaptiftes hold herein an erroneus opinion ;
So did the wayward Virago, that wold not repent,
The deuils Eldeft doughter, which lately was brent.

Beware of fuch errours, and reuerentlie reade
Gods worde with humilitie, and modeftie of mynd ;
Geue faith to the fame, and fticke to thy Crede,
For the deuyll nowe beftirs him, and doth but hys
kind.

To hinder the Gofpell many meanes doth he finde :

He rages and raunges the wyld worlde ouer,
He makes many lofe with fhorte, and fome with ouer ;

This the scripture is wrested, and all to be rackte
Of fuch as with fpirites of errour are ledde :
Thaffiftance of God, and his meke fpirite is lafte
To teach them the true fence, whan his word is redde :
It ferues not to mayntayne fonde toyes in their heade,
And wher the proude fpirite is halt, and voyde of
goddes feare,

Non ibidem dominus : The Lorde is not there.

God promifed to Eue, that the fead of a womanne
Shulde treade downe the head of the fubtill ferpente.
This promife was fully accomplifhed than
When Chrift became man, and made the attone-
mente.

This feade was of his mother, and not from heauen
fente :

How can it be called the fede of a woman truly,
Which taketh no fubftaunce, nor parte of her bodye ?

To Abraham and Jacob the fame fead was pro-
myfed,

The boke of Genefys is playne and manifft :
In thy fede fhall all the people of the worlde be
bleffed.

Not brought from aboue, but borne to performe the
behest

Was Chrif of his mother, and not from heauen
fent :

To this fence and meanyng thy wittes thou enclyne,
And marke well what is meant by thys pronounce
thyne.

How could it be their fead, whiche take not their
fubftaunce,

But came downe from heauen, and was not of their
kind ?

The fcripture conteineth no fuch repugnaunce :
Who fhallbe able by the fame to proue or to finde
To warrant Chriftes humanyty, or beleue it in his
mynd ?

If ye make it vncertayne of whom he did take it,
It appereth by thys opinion the deuyll is awaked.

God promifed to rayfe vp the fame fede to Dauyd,
Of the frute of his belly to fit on his feat :
In the fecond of Samuell and the feuenth ye may
haue it.

God is full iust, and did not forgette
To conquere the dyuel, and his deuife to difeate,
To vanquifh his iudgement, and putt awaye fynne :
Chrift was this fede, borne of his mother the virgyn.

Efaye, the prophete, confirmed the fame :
 A virgyn fhall conceiue and brynge forth a chylde.
 With this the Gospell of Mathewe doth frame :
 The fruite did growe in the wombe vndefilde,
 And the mother waxt greate, nature was begild.
 This came not by fortune, or cafuall chaunce,
 That Chriſte toke of his mother his corporall ſub-
 ſtance.

From the rote of Jeſſe procede ſhall a bud,
 And a flower of this rote, for ſo the prophet ſaies.
 This bud was Marye, of whoſe fleſhe and bloud
 Came Chriſte the flowre : my fayth ſhalbe alwayes
 The fruite of her wombe whyche neuer decayes,
 And not as water which runnes to a Condit,
 And paſſes thorowe a pipe, as the Diuell nowe hath
 found it.

To conceyue and beare a chylde, what other thinge
 is mente
 Than the mother to her child to geue and par-
 ticipate,
 As the tree to the fruit? for euen ſo dyd this
 parent,
 Of her body with thys chylde communicate,
 Nourished him in her wombe where he was incor-
 porate,

And not as rayne comes from heauen, as Martian
spoke,
Whyche is as true as an oringe springes of an oke.

Mathewe, discribing the lineall diffente
In his genealogye, thus he writtes of Marye,
Of whome is borne Christ : learne what he meant
By this terme *of*, for he doth not saye by
Whom, or through whom : the holy ghoſt cannot lye.
Beleue than gods worde, though the deuel be neuer
ſo loth,
And let thy wyl and thy wyt gaue place to the
troth.

As touchyng the fleſh Chriſt was borne of Dauids
fede,
And whan the tyme was perfourmed, God than did
ſend
His ſonne borne of a woman : let this be the Crede,
And forget not the Aue, with what wordes it doth
ende :
Bleſſed is the fruyte of thy wombe : pray to god he
may defende
The from this errour, and ſo from al other,
That thou may beleue Chriſte toke fleſhe of hys
mother.

But if froward fondness haue fo wedded the to thy
wyl,
Both piuyſhe and peruerſe, that theſe will not per-
fwade,
The fourth of the Galathians I wyl write in my bille :
The place is pithy to tourne the from that trade.
But when the ful tyme was come, God ſent his ſonne
made
Of a woman : the greke hath it *made*, written by
Poulle,
And not *bourne* : beleue this ſcripture, and dampne
not thy foule.

Tyme wil not ſerue to vtter the ſtore
Of fundry textes, which ſcripture contaynes
Agaynſt this opinion, and moſt dyueliſh erroure,
Lately maintayned by a ſort of idle braines,
And all to ſeme ſinguler ; but marke well their
gaynes :
They are ſo ſturdy and ſtoute, they wyll be take for
no ſtarters,
Thei had rather goo to the Dyuel, like ſtinking
marters.

Scripture diſdaynes not to cal Chriſt the ſonne
Of Marye his mother, in Luke and in Mathewe,
But their hartes are ſo hardened thy will not be wonne,

They make a tush at a text, be it neuer so true.
They wyl beleue Paule no more than a turcke or a
Jewe :

To aledge them scriptures it greatly skylleth not :
Ther is none so blind as they that can se, and will not.

Thys doubte were discuffed, if they vnderstode,
And wold rede and beleue the second to the Ebrues ;
Forasmuch as the chyl dren were pertakers of flesh
and bloude,

He also him selfe likewise did not refuse,
But toke parte with them ; wherby he subduse
Through death the deuyll, our mortall aduersary.
Where had Christe his fleshe, but of his mother Mary?

Christ toke the fede of Abraham, he toke it not of
Aungelles,

So that he became like to his brethren in al thinges,
Synne only excepte : thus playnly Paule telles.

Where came he by thys flesh which amongst vs he
brings ?

Had he fethers as well as flesh, and came downe with
winges ?

Christ came to be a mediatoure : it was requisite
that he

Shuld be partaker of the godhede, and of our hu-
manitye.

Chriſte preached the worde, and ſowed forth good
ſedes,

The Apoſtles trauayled, and toke greate paynes ;
But Beſebub beſturred him, and vp came the wedes
Whiche ſhortly ſprong vp in fantaſticall braynes :
Suche Deuiliſhe deceyuers the Deuyll intertaynes.
Many entred in Johns tyme, whyche woulde not
confeſſe

That oure Sauoure Jeſus Chriſte was come in the
fleſhe.

It ſemed moſt mete to gods hyghe prouidence,
And alſo moſt neceſſarye for our redemcion,
That wher the fyrſt man in our nature cōmitted diſ-
obedience,

The ſecond Man Chriſte ſhoulde make ſatiſfaccion,
Repayre and recompence in the ſame nature and
parſon,

And paye the payne of ſynne : this was not omitted
In the fleſhe of man wherein it was committed.

Howe ſtandeth to the Corinthyans Paules diſpu-
tacion,

If Chriſt had not his nature common wyth vs ?
In whom, now ryſen, Paule proueth an vniuerſal
refurreccion.

It were easy to reply agaynſt the ſame thus :

If it myghte be alledged (as it cannot) that Iefus
Broughte downe from heauen an heauenly body
In to the wombe of the Vyrgyn Mary.

What maruell is it, if an heauenly fubftaunce
Be vtterly voyde and exempte from corrupcion ?
It cannot well folowe, ther muft be variaunce,
That our bodies, fubiecte to putrefaction,
Shoulde ryfe vp agayne wythout corrupcion :
That we doute not hereof, let vs beleue fure,
That Chriſte toke parte wyth vs in our nature.

Pfalme.

Eſay the Prophet ſayd he was made Emanuell ;
The worde ſoundes and ſignifieth God is wyth vs.
Howe it ſhould be other wyſe, I cannot tell,
But I am affured that Dauyd, in the parſon of Iefus,
Reade the xxii. Pfal. where he this doute doeth
dylcuſ :

Thou toke me from my mothers wombe to performe
the beheſtes ;

Thou waſt my hope when I hanged vpon my
mothers breafteſ.

Let vs praye vnto god longe to mayntayne and
defende

The ſtate of this realme and goddes true religion ;
Let vs alſo geue thanks to god, whiche hathe ſende

Vs a kynge to al princes a president and patron,
A counsell most catholike for a christian congregacion,
To surceasse al fedicion, to punyſhe false teachers;
And to ſtabliſhe true doctrine god ſende vs good
preachers.



By me Edmon Becke.

Imprinted at London by John day
dwellynge ouer Alderſgate, and William Se-
res dwellynge in Peter Colledge.



INTRODUCTION.

THIS early drama was entered by the printer of it at Stationers' Hall on 22nd Oct. 1576, the year it bears upon the title-page. We believe that only a single copy of it is known, and about twenty years ago it was bought by the writer for the late Duke of Devonshire, who at once gave him leave to transcribe it, and to procure it to be reprinted. All his Grace's literary treasures were freely at the service of literary men; and he kept his matchless collection of Old Plays in London, on purpose that they might be easily accessible.

The proverb on which the name of the *pièce* is founded has descended to our day; but formerly "*tarrieth*", as here, was sometimes used in the sense of *awaiteth*—"the Tide *awaiteth* no man"; but still Holinshed, in his Chronicle, referring to the embarkation of Queen Elizabeth (before she ascended to the throne) for the Tower, employs the verb with the preposition—"and the tide now ready, which *tarrieth for* nobody." Even in the production in our hands we meet with the following line (p. 30, l. 2),

"For the tyde will not tarry *for* any man's will;"

so that the practice was by no means uniform.

Our reprint has been made with all due attention to accuracy ; and we have not thought it right to vary from the old copy, even in its misprints, for there is hardly one of them that does not correct itself: thus on the very first page, and the fifth line, “with” ought obviously to be *which*; on p. 3, l. 9, “ade” ought to be *acte*; on p. 8, l. 1, “Hurting” ought to be *Hurtfull*, &c.; but on p. 16, l. 6, we have necessarily inserted [Greedines] between brackets to denote that it is not in the original. On p. 75, l. 15, the word “thrall” is made to rhyme with “know”; and we have not ventured to substitute *woe*, although it seems quite certain that it must have been what the author wrote. The Latin stage-directions are nearly all absurdly wrong, and the real or supposed quotation on p. 69 would be unintelligible, but for the paraphrase given of it in the next line but one. Our object, as usual, has been to make our reprint as nearly as possible, even in its defects, conform to the old copy; and on this account on p. 14, l. 17, we have not amended “thou” to *though*, where it is absolutely required by the sense of the passage. Such matters may commonly be safely left to the knowledge and sagacity of the reader, and needless notes are thus avoided.

“The Tide tarrieth no Man” is purely a Morality, with its allegorical and symbolical characters, and without any of the improvements, and approaches to real life which, in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, were beginning to find their way to our Stage. We take it, that the drama is of considerably older date than the year inserted upon the title-page. Of the author nothing is known; but his name, properly spelt, may have been Walpole.

J. P. C.

THE
TYDE TARYETH NO MAN.

A moste pleasant and merry commo-
dy, right pythie, and full
of delight.

Compiled by GEORGE WAPULL.

Foure persons may easily play it.

1. The Prologue, Hurtfull help, the Tenaunt, Faythfull few,
for one.
2. Paynted profyte, No good Neighbourhood, the Courtier,
Wastefulnesse, Christianitye, Correction, for another.
3. Corage the Vice, Debtor, for another.
4. Fayned furtheraunce, Greedinesse, the Marchaunt, Wan-
tonnesse the Woman, the Seriaunt, Authority and
Dispayre, for another.

Imprinted at London, in Fleete-streate
beneath the Conduite, at the Signe
of *Saynt John Evaungelist*,
by Hugh Jackson.

1576.

The Prologue.

AS the worme, which in the timber is bred,
The selfe same timber doth consume and eate ;
And as the moth, which is commonly fed
In the cloth with her bred, and the same doth frete ;
So many persons are a damage great
To their own countrey which hath them relieved,
And by them their own countrey ofte times is greeved.

So many citties and townes are defamed
By reason that some inhabitauntes is ill ;
So that for ones fafte the whole towne is blamed,
Although the residue to good doe their will :
Yet the fact of this one the others good name doth
 spill,
And thus a reproch to his own towne ingendreth,
And the good name of the whole towne he hindereth.

To what ende these wordes we haue spoken
In our matter shalbe more playnely exprest,
Which the Tide tarieth no man to name hath token,
For that it is moſte agreeable and beſt :
Because that no man from his pleaſure will reſt,

But ech man doth take the time of his gayne,
Although the fame be to others great payne.

For so greedy is the perfon auaricious,
Whome Saint Austen doth well liken to hell,
For that they both are so much infacious,
That neyther of them know when they are well ;
And Ambrosius doth verify and tell
How that covetous perfons do lack what they haue,
And therefore not satisfyed till they are in graue.

But where such people are, small love there doth rest,
But greedy desire supplieth the place.
The fymple ones commonly by such are opprest,
For they nothing way any needy mans case ;
But with greedy grype their gayne they imbrace :
No kind of degree that they will forbear,
Neyther any time they will let slip or spare.

And although that here a Courtyer is named,
Yet thereby is not ment the Courtyer alone,
But all kindes of perfons who their suites haue framed,
Or to any such greedy guttes haue made their mone ;
Being driuen to their shiftes to haue ought by lone,
How greedineffe at such times doth get what he can,
And therefore still cryeth, Tyde tarieth no man.

Which proverbe right well might be applyed
To a better sence then it is vsed :
There is time to aske grace, this may not be denyed,
Of thy sinfull life so greatly abused.
Let not that time, then, be refused,
For that tyde most certayne will tarry no man :
Thus taking the proverbe we rightly do scan.

Thus, worshipfull Audyence, our Authour defyreth
That this his ade you will not depraue ;
But if any fault be, he humbly requireth
That due intelligence thereof he may haue ;
Committing himselfe to your discretions graue.
And thus his Prologue he rudely doth end,
For at hand to approche the Players intend.

FINIS.

COURAGE, the Vice, entreth.

To the barge to
Come they that will go !
 Why, firs, I fay whan ?
It is high tyde,
We may not abide :
 Tide tarieth no man.

The Tyde taryeth no Man.

If ye will not go,
Why then, tell me fo,
Or else come away straight :
If you come not soone,
You shall haue no roome,
For we haue almost our frayte.

There are Ufurers great,
Who their braynes doe beat
In devising of guyles :
False dealers also
A thousand and mo,
Which know store of wyles.

Crafty cutpurfes,
Maydens mylchnurfes,
Wives of the stampe,
Who loue mo than one ;
For lying alone,
Is yll for the crampe.

Husbandes as good
As wigges made of wood,
We haue there also :
With fervauntes so sure
As packthread most pure,
Which men away thro.

There are such a fight,
I cannot refite
 The halfe that we haue ;
And I of this barge
Haue the greateft charge,
 Their liues for to faue.

Corage contagious,
Or Courage contrarious,
 That is my name :
To which, that I will
My mind to fulfill,
 My maners I frame.

Corage contagious,
When I am outragious
 In working of yll ;
And Corage contrary,
When that I do vary
 To compaffe my will.

For as in the Bee
For certayne we fee
 Sweete honey and sting,
So I in my mind,
The better to blind,
 Two Corages bring.

The Tyde taryeth no Man.

And as with the fowre,
Ech day and hower,
 The Phisition inventeth
To mingle as meete
Something that is sweete,
 Which his patient contenteth :

Even so some while
To collour my guile,
 Do geue corage to good ;
For I, by that meane,
Will convey very cleane,
 And not be understood.

Now, fyr, to showe
Whether we do goe,
 Will doe very well :
We meane to prevayle,
And therefore we sayle
 To the Diuell of hell.

And though it be farre,
Yet welcome we are
 When thether we come :
No chere there is
Whereof we shall misse,
 But be fure of some.

I, Corage, do call
Both great and fmall
 To the Barge of Sinne ;
Wherein they do wallow
Tyll hell do them fwallow :
 That is all they do win.

When come ye away ?
Thus ftill I do fay
 As loude as I can :
Take time while time is,
Leaft that you do miffe ;
 Time tarieth no man.

With catching and fnatching,
Waking and watching,
 Running and ryding,
Let no time efcape
That for you doth make,
 For tyde hath no byding.

But ebbing and flowing,
Comming and going,
 It neuer doth reft :
Therefore, when you may
Make no delay,
 For that is the beft.

HURTING-HELPE, PAYNTED-PROFITE,
FAYNED-FURTHERAUNCE.

HELPE. By the maffe, fyrs! see where he is.

PROFYTE. I tould thee that heare we should him
not misse.

HELPE. Good mayfter Corage, most hartely good
euen. [*Salute* CORAGE.

CORAGE. In fayth, my friendes, welcome all three,
by faynt Steven.

Jefus, good Lord! how doe ye fare?

Cover your heads; why are you bare?

And how, fyrs, now, fyrs, leade you your liues?

Which of all you three now the best thrives?

HELPE. Tush, man; none of us can do amiffe,
For we do alwayes take time while time is;
And where euer we goe like counsayle we giue,
Telling all men that here they shall not still liue.

CORAGE. Therein, Hurtefull-hepe, thou doste very
well:

The Tyde tarieth no man thou must always tell.

HELPE. Indeede, Hurtefull-helpe that is my name,
But I would not that all men should know the fame,
For I am a broker, the truth is so:
Wherefore, if men in me hurtfullnesse should know,
There are few or none that with me would deale:
Therefore this word Hurtfull I neuer reueale.

My name I say playne Helpe to be,
Wherefore ech man for helpe doth come unto me :
Good mayfter Helpe, helpe to that or this,
And of good reward you shall not misse.

PROFITE. And as thou from Helpe hurtfull dost
throw,

So paynted from Profyte I must forgoe ;
For if any man know me for profyte but paynted,
Men will but little with me be acquaynted.
My mayfter, who a good gentleman is,
Thinketh me as profitable as he can wish,
So that playne Profite he thinketh my name,
And before his face my deedes shew the fame.

FURTHER. Farewell, my maysters ; for I may hence
walke,
For I see you two will haue all the talke.

[Fayne going out.]

CORAGE. What, Fayned Furtherance, are you so
coy ?
Will you neuer leaue the tricks of a boy ?
Come agayne, I say, leaft I do you fet ;
And say what you will, here shall no man let.

FURTHER. Fet mee ?

CORAGE. Yea, fet thee.

FURTHER. Marry, do what you dare.

CORAGE. That will I not spare.

[Out quickly with his dagger.]

HELPE. Good fyr, hold your hand, and beare with his rudeneffe.

CORAGE. Nay, I cannot, nor will not, suffer his lewdeneffe.

FURTHER. Tush ! a figge for him : let him do what he can.

CORAGE. Alas ! fyr, who are you but a marchauntes man.

Good syr, what you are, we know right well,
Who is your mayster, and where you doe dwell.
You professe that your mayster you doe greatly
further,
And yet for his goodes you would him gladly
murther.

FURTHER. If so I doe wish, it is long of thee,
For thou there unto haste encouraged mee.

PROFYTE. What ! husht, I say : no more of these
wordes ;

For appeaching oft the appeacher disturbes.
Be friendes agayne, as you were at the first :
Let ech man say the best, and leaue out the worst.

FURTHER. I, for my part, doe there vnto assent.

CORAGE. Then giue me thy hand, if thou bee
content. *[And shake hands.]*

Now are we friendes as at first we were ;
Therefore, straight way thy mind let us here.

FURTHER. Truly, I meane to doe even as doe the
rest,

For in mine opinion that is the best :
And as Hurting-helpe hath Hurting forgone,
And Paynted-profyte is Profyte alone ;
So I, Fayned-furtheraunce, henceforth doe minde
To be Furtheraunce playne, leauing Fayned behinde.
Other men's furtheraunce to seeke I will fay,
Yet will I seeke mine owne, as much as I may.

CORAGE. Elfe wert thou vnwife, yea, and a very
foole :

Thou learnedst none otherwise, I trow, in my schoole.
I am a schoolemayster for you three most fyte,
Who indued you with courage instead of great wytte.

HELPE. To be our mayster wilt thou take in hand?
Why, we are as good as thou, thou shalt vnderstand.

CORAGE. Alas, poor knaues! what could you three
doe,

If you haue not courage belonging thereto?

HELPE. And what can Courage doe without Helpe?
As much as a kitling, or a suckling whelp.

CORAGE. And by Hurtfull-helpe what am I the
better?

Being holpe to a hurt, I am no great getter.

HELPE. It is folly with thee thus to contend :
We are as good as thou, and so I do ende.

CORAGE. Since that by wordes I can no maystry
haue,

I would prooue what my manhood will doe, fyr knaue.

PROFITE. Why, arte thou blind? mayest thou not see
That agayne thee one, we are here three?

CORAGE. And what can three doe agaynst one,
I hauing courage, and they hauing none?
Therefore Courage will claw you, or you go hence.
Now, defend yourselves: I will see your fence.

HELPE. What Courage, I say! thy hand now stay.

CORAGE. Will you then consent to that which I say?

HELPE. There is no remedy, but we must consent.
Sometimes it is good a fooles mind to content;
Therefore, I am content to be thine inferiour,
And I will from henceforth take thee for superiour.

CORAGE. And so will the residue, I trow, also.

PROFYTE. If you say I, fyr, we will not say no.

CORAGE. Well, fyrs, then I will shew you my minde.
But fyrst I will discribe you, ech one in his kinde.
Thou, Helpe, art a broker betweene man and man,
Whereby much deceyte thou vnest now and than.
Profyte is one, who by seruice in fight
Doth cause his mayster to thinke him most right.
A profytable seruauant he thinketh him to be,
Because he is profytable while he doth him see:
And Fayned Furtherauce doth fayne him to further
His mayster and others, whom fayne he would
murther.

Thus in seeking welth you all doe agree,
And yet you professe others friendes for to bee.

PROFITE. *Ne quisque sapit qui sibil non sapit.*
This saying I redde when as I went to schoole;
One not wise for himselfe is but a very foole.

HELPE. By my troth, and of that opinion am I,
And in that opinion I meane for to dye.

FURTHER. Tush! why spend you tyme in speaking
of that?

While thereon you talke in vayne is your chat:
For who helps not himselfe before any other,
I coumpt him a foole, if he were my brother;
And as I count him, all people doe so.
Therefore, cease this talke and hence let us go;
For some of us may chaunce to meete with a chiding,
Because that so long from home we are biding.

PROFYTE. By S. Anne, I think therein you say well,
For, I know, thereof I am like to here tell.

CORAGE. Why man, a little while breaketh no
square.

HELPE. Tush! Helpe hath excuse to collour that
care.

FURTHER. Yea, but already we haue tarried so long.

HELPE. Why then, ye were best goe without a song.

FURTHER. Nay, I will tarry to sing, though there-
fore I should dye.

PROFITE. My helpe to singing I did neuer denye.

CORAGE. Why then, fyrs, haue at it coragiously.

The Song.

Fyrst Corage caufeth mindes of men
to wifh for good or ill,
And fome by Corage, now and then,
at Tiborne make their will.
Helpe, Profite, and Furtheraunce do fayne,
Where Corrage doth catch in any mans brayne.

Then Helpe, in hope to haue his pray,
full fecretly doth wayte,
And as the time doth ferue alway
he throweth forth his bayte.
Helpe, Profite, &c.

Profite prolongeth not the time
to please his paynted mind :
He paffeth not though mayfter pyne,
fo he his pleafure find.
Helpe, Profite, &c.

And Furtheraunce, thou laft of all
he came into the rowte,
He wayeth not his mayfters thrall,
nor seekes to helpe him out.
Helpe, Profite, &c.

Finis.

PRO. FUR. Now, Corage, farewell, for we must be gone.

HELPE. Nay, fyrs, you two shall not go alone,
For I doe meane to beare you company,
And so shall we be euen a whole trinity.
Therefore, Corage, adewe. [*They three goe out.*]

CORAGE. Syr, here was a trinity in a witnesse!
A man might have shapte three knaves by their likeness:

A trinity much like the trinity of late,
Where good wife Gull brake her good mans pate :
In came her man, to make up the number,
Who had his nose shode with the steale of a scumber ;
But, in fyne, these three began to agree,
And knit themselves up in one trinity,
And after they loued like brother and brother,
For very loue they did kill one another.
And then they were buried, I doe well remember,
In Stawtons strawne hat, vij. mile from December ;
Where they had not lyen the space of a day
But fower of those three were thence run away.
The Constable came with a backe on his bill,
And because they were gone, he did them kill.
I, Corage, so cleft their cushions on sunder,
To see how they bled it made me to wonder.
I myselfe was smitten twise to the ground :
I was very fore hurt, but I had not a wound.

I briſkeled my ſelfe, as though fight I would,
 And tooke me to my legges as faſt as I could :
 And ſo with much payne hither I did come,
 But huſht, ſyrs ! I ſay : no moe wordes but mum.

GREEDINES *enter.*

[GREEDINES.] Tufhe ! talke not of that ; for in
 vayne you do prate,

For there are none but fooles that welthines doe hate.

CORAGE. What, Greedineſſe, I ſay, why, what is
 the matter ?

Mayſter Welthineſſe, I would ſay, whereon do you
 clatter ?

GREEDINES. What, old friend Corage ! arte thou ſo
 nere hand ?

Marry, I will ſhew thee how the matter doth ſtand.

As I walked along through the ſtreate,

By ſuch wayes as mine affayres did lie,

It was my chaunce with a preacher to meete,

Whoſe company to haue I did not deny ;

And as we two together did walke,

Amongeſt other communication we had,

The preacher brake out with reprocheable talke,

Saying that we cittizens were all to bad.

Some of vs, he ſayeth, are greedy guttes all,

And euell members of the common welth :

He ſayeth, we care not whome we bring in thrall ;

Neither haue we regard unto our ſoules health.

His talke, I confesse, my conscience did nip,
Wherefore no longer I would him abide,
But fodenly I gaue him the flip,
And crossed the way, to the other fyde.
So alone I let mayster preacher walke,
And here by chaunce I stombled in.

CORAGE. And arte thou so foolish for any such
talke

To cease or stay thy welth for to win?

GREEDINES. Serra, he cried out of excessiue gayne;
Saying, when any of our wares haue neede,
Then do we hoyft them up to their payne,
And commonly make them pay for their speede.

CORAGE. I perceiue that fellow was hote of the
spirite;

He would not haue you take time while time is:
If ye follow his counsell, he will begger you quite.
But what answere diddest thou geue him to this?

GREEDINES. Why, thou knowest, my quality is
such,

That by contrary talke I use no man to blame;
For although often my dooinges they touch,
Yet my talke alwayes to the tyme I frame.
When he sayd excessiue gayners were ill,
I sayd for them it was a shame,
And in all thinges else I pleased his will;
And so I fayned my selfe without blame.

CORAGE. Thou doste wisely therein; I commend thee therefore,
 For whatever thou thinke, yet say as they doe,
 So shalt thou haue their fauoures euermore,
 And that way no blame thou shalt come vnto.

GREEDINES. Yea, but truly his wordes did my conscience prick;
 Of me he did so vnhappyly geffe:
 I promise thee he touched me vnto the quick,
 For that in gayning I vsed exceffe.
 My conscience doth tell me I haue done amisse,
 And of long time I haue gone astray;
 And a thousand witneses the conscience is,
 As Salust in moste playne wordes doth say.

CORAGE. Why, doltish patch! arte thou so unwise
 To quayle for the saying of such a knaue?
 Thou knowest all the world will thee despyse,
 And a begging thou must goe, if that naught thou haue:

And how shalt thou haue ought,
 If thy gayne be not great?
 Consider this well in thy minde,
 Remember thy house, and thy wife, that peate,
 Must still be kept in their costly kinde.
 Therefore, take the time while the time doth serue;
 Tyde taryeth no man: this thou dost know.
 If thy goods decay, then mayst thou sterue;

So dooing thou seekest thine owne overthrow.

GREEDINES. Indeed, as thou sayest, it doth me
behooue,

Not so rashly to lay my gayning aside,
Least to my selfe a foole I doe proue,
By shooting from my profyte so wyde.
I consider my welth is now at good stay,
Which I would be loath should be impaired ;
For once rich, and after in decay,
Is a miserable thing, as Hyemes hath declared :
Therefore, I meane thy counsell to take,
Least of that misery I know the smart ;
Then is it to late any more to make,
Or from such foolishnesse to reuart.
Therefore, Corage, adew unto thee,
For it behooueth me hence to departe. *Exiunt.*

CORAGE. Adew, Welthinesse, till agayne we see ;
Adew, great Greedinesse, with all my hart.
Hath not Corage contagious now shewd his kinde,
By encouraging Greedinesse vnto euill,
Which late was drawing to a better minde,
And now agayne doth follow the Deuill ?

Enter HELPE, and NO-GOOD-NEIGHBOURHOOD.

HELPE. Loe thee ! Neighbourhood, where Corage
doth stand.

CORAGE. What, No-good-Neighbourhood ! geue
me thy hand.

NEIGHBOR. Those two first syllables might be
put out,
And then thou hittest my name without doubt.

CORAGE. Why is not No-good-Neighbourhood
thy name?

NEIGHBOR. Put away No-good, and see how it
will frame :
For if thou doe put away No-good,
There resteth no more but Neighbourhood.

CORAGE. Then is it Neighbourhood, neither good
nor bad ?
Nay, though we leaue the fyrst, it is good the next
we had ;

For leauing out No, put Good to the rest,
Then is it good neighbourhood ; thus I think is best.

NEIGHBOR. Nay ; I will haue them both two left
out,
Because of my name men should stand in doubt :
For if No-good-Neighbourhood I be named,
Then of all men I shall be blamed ;
And if that Good to Neighbourhood I haue,
Men will say I doe it prayse to craue.
So I will leaue out both No and Good,
And will be indifferent, fole Neighbourhood.

CORAGE. Then Neighbourhood be it, if so it
shall be.
And, Neighbourhood, what is thine errand to me ?

NEIGHBOR. Syr, my comming is for occasions two :
The fyrst is for your councell, what were best to doe,
In a matter which I haue lately begon,
If I shall proceede, or else leaue it vndone.
The second is, if I shall proceede,
That you will stand my friend, if I neede.

CORAGE. Affure thyself thereof without doubt :
Therefore, shew me the matter thou goest about.

NEIGHBOR. I thanke you, fyr, euen with all my
harte,
And I trust also that Helpe will doe his parte.

HELPE. Doubt not but that I to thee will be
cleauing :
Therefore, proceede, and shew him thy meaning.

NEIGHBOR. Then, fyr, this is the matter, if it shall
please you to giue eare.
I haue a neighbour, who dwelleth to me somewhat
neare,
Who hath a Tenement, commodious and feate,
To which Tenement I beare a loue very greate.
This man, my neighbour, as far as I can learne,
Hath in his Tenement but a short terme,
Fower or fyue years, or there about,
Which tearme, you know, will soon be worne out.
Now, fyr, might I in reuerfion a lease thereof haue,
I would giue the Landlord euen what he would
craue.

CORAGE. And who is the Landlord thereof, can you tell?

NEIGHBOR. Mayster Greedineffe, a man whome you know right well.

He is one which neuer did mony hate.

CORAGE. Why then, speake in time, leaft thou be to late.

The Tyde taryeth no man, the proverbe hath fayde ;
Therefore, fee no time herein be delayde.

Mayster Helpe here fhall be to thee a ftay,

For with mayster Greedineffe he beareth great fway.

HELPE. I will doe for him what lyeth in me.

NEIGHBOR. And then to your paynes I will gladly fee.

CORAGE. Doubt not, then, but thou fhalt haue thy mind.

NEIGHBOR. As you fay I wifh that I may find ;
But I doubt that of my purpofe I fhall miffe
By reafon of one thing, and that is this.

My forefaid neighbour, which now holdeth the fame,
Hath bene there a long dweller, of good name and fame,

And well he is beloued, both of young and old :
Wherefore not only the neighbours with him will holde,

But alfo the landlord, I am in great doubt,
Wilbe therefore vnwilling to put him out,

And I but a straunger among them, God wote.

HELPE. Marry, fyr, it is much the better for that ;
For if thou wert more straunge, and borne out of the
land,

Thou shouldest sooner haue it, I dare take in hand :
For among vs now such is our country zeale,
That we loue best with straungers to deale.

To sell a lease deare, whofoeuer that will,
At the French or Dutch Church let him set up his
bill,

And he shall haue chapmen, I warrant you, good
store :

Looke, what an Englishman bids, they will giue as
much more.

We brokers of straungers well know the gayne :

By them we haue good rewardes for our payne.

Therefore, though thou be straunge, the matter is
not great,

For thy money is English, which must worke the
feate.

NEIGHBOR. Indeede, my money as a neighbour
will agree

With any man, wheresouer it be ;

And I myself would be a neighbour to,

And therefore the rather I doe that I doe ;

For if it were not to be a neighbour by them,

I wisse, I would not take a house so nye them.

HELPE. I dare say ech man would be glad at his
 harte
 To haue all his neighbours such as thou arte.
 What matter is it, if thou thy selfe be sped,
 Though thou take thy neighbours house ouer his
 head?

CORAGE, Tush! that is no harme, but rather it is
 good,
 For he doth it only for pure neighbourhood.
 See, yonder commeth one; if thou canst make him
 thy friend,
 Then mayest thou shortly bring thy purpose to end.

FURTHERAUNCE *entreteth*.

FURTHER. Now, mayster Corage, how doe you
 fare?

CORAGE. Even glad to see you so merry[as you] are.
 Furtheraunce, you must pleasure a friend of myne.

FURTHER. Thereto I am ready, at ech tide and
 tyme,
 To doe for him what in me doth lye :
 Therefore, let me know your mind by and by.

CORAGE. Serra, of thy mayster a lease he would
 haue,
 And therein thy friendship it is he doth craue.

NEIGHBOR. Syr, if that herein my friend you will
 stand,
 I will giue you, therefore, euen what you will
 demaund.

FURTHER. Then, Neighbourhood, thou shalt shortly
fee
That I can doe somewhat betweene my mayster and
thee.

Thou couldest neuer speake better to speede ;
For of money now he standeth in neede
To pay for a purchase of certayne land,
Which needes he must discharge out of hand.
Therefore, this time for thee well doth fall,
If that thou haue money to tempt him withall.

NEIGHBOR. Tush, man ! for money I will not spare.

FURTHER. Then thou needest no whit for to care ;
And if thou take payne now to walke home,
There shalt thou find him sitting alone.

CORAGE. Cocks passion, man ! hye thee away :
Thou knowest the tyde for no man will stay.

NEIGHBOR. Why, fyr, but will you not walke with
vs thither ?

FURTHER. No ; doe Helpe and you goe before vs
together,
And, I warrant you, I will not long be behind you,
For though I be absent, yet I will mind you.

NEIGHBOR. Then, fyr, adew till we meete agayne.
Doubt not but I will consider your payne.
Come, Helpe, shall we goe ?

HELPE. It is time, I trow.

Exiunt.

FURTHER. Ah ! fyr, this geare doth trimly fall out.

I know this leafe which he goeth about ;
Wherefore I will worke fo on both the fydes,
That of both parties I fhall obtayne brybes.
I will fhew the old tenaunt how one goeth about
To take his houle, and to thruft him out.
Wherefore he will largely greafe me in the hand,
Because his friend therein I fhall ftand :
The other, here, did promyfe me playne
That he would reward me for my payne.
Therefore, Corage, farewell unto thee,
For how this geare will frame I will fee. [Exit.]

CORAGE. Farewell, Furtheraunce, my gentle friend.
A man may feeke Hell and fuch two not find ;
I meane a friend fo worthy of truft,
And a neighbour that is fo honeft and juft.
Of honefty, I trow, he is meetely well fped,
That will take his neighbours houle ouer his head.
I thinke there is no man within this place
But he would gladly fuch neighbours imbrace.
Where two fuch neighboures dye, out of one towne,
The Deuill fhall be fure to haue one black gowne,
As well he is worthy, if I might be judge,
For in their affayres he dayly doth trudge.
Good counsell he giues them, both morning and
euening,
What meanes they fhall worke to their neighbors
greeuing.

He teacheth them how to pill and to poule,
In hope after death to haue body and foule.
Tush! what meane I thus of foule for to speake?
In vayne with such talke my braynes I do breake;
For foul there is none, when the body is dead;
In such kinde of doctryne my schollers I leade.
Therefore, say I, take time while time is,
For after this life there is nothing but blisse:
There is no foule any payne to abide;
The Teachers contrary from truth are far wide.

WILLING-TO-WIN-WORSHIP, *enter, Courtier-like.*

COURTYER. Oh! so my hart is filled with doubt
Which way I may worke my worship to win:
Shall I leaue of Courtyers so jolly a rout,
And eke of Ladies a company so trim?
And shall I home to my cottage rude,
There to liue like a countrey clowne?
Truely, I know not which way to conclude,
To get myself worship and renowne.
To win worship I would be right glad,
Therefore Willing-to-win-worship is my name.
In the countrey there is none such to be had,
And the Court doth aske great cost for the same:
So, what I shall doe, I know not yet.
I consider it is toward a good time,
Wherein tryumphing is vsed, as is moſte fit,

And where Courtyers must shew themselues braue
and fine.

But this I conclude, as forced I am,
The Court for to leaue, and homeward to packe ;
For where is the money ? here is the man,
If man he may be, that money doth lacke.

CORAGE. Syr, are you so foolish, the Court for to
leaue,

When the time is that worship you should win ?
For in times of tryumphing, we alwayes perceauē,
The Courtyers worship doth fyrst begin.
Therefore do you from such foolishnesse stay,
And Fortune may chance giue you as you wish.

COURTYER. But the wheelles of Fortune, as So-
crates doth say,

Are like the snares wherewith men take fish.
And in another place Plautus doth shew
A saying in Latin, and that is this :

Festo die si quid prodigeris,

Profesto egere liceat nisi pepereris :

If on the Holiday wasting thou doe vse,
On the worke day thou mayst beg, vnlesse well
thou get.

So in tryumphing like effect insues,
That next after waste indigence is set.

CORAGE. Then Perianders wordes you account
least,

Who vnto honour an incorager is :

Honor (fayeth he) *immortalis est.*

Now, fyr, I pray you, how like you this ?

COURTYER. Those wordes to be true, I must needes
confesse,

For honour, in deede, is an immortall fame ;
And now is the time the fame to possesse,
But I haue not wherewith to atchiue the fame ;
For money is he that the man must decke,
And though I haue attire both costely and gay,
Yet vnlesse it be new, I shall haue but a geck :
Therefore, much better for me be away.

CORAGE. Tush, man ! for money be thou not sad :
You Courtyers, I know, haue jewels good store,
And money for jewels will alwayes be had,
Therefore, for that matter care thou no more.

COURTYER. Yea, but how it is had I partely doe
know,

And what excesssiue interest is payde :
Therefore, you may fay, the more is my woe.
Would God that I had it neuer affayde !

CORAGE. Well, whateuer it cost, it must needes be
had ;

Therefore, withstand not thy fortunate chaunce,
For I will count thee foole, worse then mad,
If thou wilt not spend money thyselfe to aduaunce.
Now is the time of hap, good or ill ;

Venture it therefore while it is hote,
 For the tyde will not tarry for any mans will :
 Neuer fhalt thou speede, if now thou speede not.

COURTYER. Truly, this talke doth encorage me
 fo much,
 That to see the Court agayne I doe pretend.
 But, I pray thee, doest thou know any such
 As vse vpon gages money to lend ?

CORAGE. Why, man, for that matter, you neede
 not to doubt :
 Of such men there are ynow euery where.
 But see, how luckely it doth fall out !
 See yonder two friendes of mine doe appeare.
 There is a broker betweene man and man,
 When as any bargaynes they haue in hand ;
 The other a marchauntes man now and than.
 In borrowing money thy friendes they may stand.

HELPE *and* FURTHERAUNCE *enter.*

HELPE. So are we, in deede ; and what of that ?
 Who is it that with vs would any thing haue ?

COURTYER. Euen I, a gentleman whome money
 doe lack,
 And therein your friendship would gladly craue.

HELPE. Therein we can helpe you, if your plea-
 sure it be,
 And will do, or else we were greatly to blame ;

Prouided alwayes that to our paynes you doe see,
And also put in a good pawne for the same.

COURTYER. A pawne sufficient I will therefore lay,
And also your paynes I will recompence well ;
But I must needs haue it out of the way,
Although my landes therefore I do sell.

HELPE. You shall haue it, fyr, so soone as you will ;
And therein you shalbe friendly vsed :
For in friendly vsing this fellow hath skill ;

[*Pointing to* FURTHERAUNCE.

Therefore, his counsel must not be refused.
He is seruauant vnto a marchant man,
Who is partly ruled after his minde.

COURTYER. In deede, as you say, helpe me he can :
I doubt not but his friendship I shall fynd.
Doubt you not, fyr, but in pleasuring me,
I will recompence your paynes with the moste.

FURTHER. What I can do for you soone you shall
see :

It is but folly thereof for to boast.

COURTYER. Well then, it is time that hence we
were packing,
For fayne an end thereof I would know.

HELPE. Why, fyr, no dilligence in vs shalbe
lacking,
For we are ready, if that you be so.

COURTYER. Why then, that we go I thinke it were
best.

Thinke you your mayster is now at home ?

FURTHER. Ye, I know well at home he doth rest ;
And I geffe that now he is sitting alone :
Therefore, no longer here let us stay.

COURTYER. Then, sir, adew, for I will lead the way.

[Speaking to CORAGE, and goeth out with

FURTHERANCE and HELPE.

CORAGE. Now may you see how Corage can worke,
And how he can encorage both to good and bad.
The Marchaunt is encouraged in greedineffe to
lurke,

And the Courtyer to win worship by Corage is glad.

The one is good, no man will deny ;

I meane corage to win worship and fame :

So that the other is ill all men will say,

That is corage to greedineffe, which getteth ill name.

Thus may you see Corage contagious,

And eke contrarious, both in me do rest ;

For I of kind am alwayes various,

And chaunge as to my mind seemeth best.

Betwene man and wife sometimes I doe shewe

Both my kindnesse, when my pleasure it is ;

The good wife giueth her husband a blow,

And he for reward doth giue her a kisse.

The good wife by Corage is hardy and stout,

The good man contrary is pacient and meeke,

And suffereth himself to be called loute,

Yea, and worfe misfufed thrife in a weeke.
How fay you, good wiues, is it not fo ?
I warrant you, not one that can fay nay ;
Whereby all men here may right well know,
That all this is true which I do fay.
But yet Corage tells you not all that he knowes,
For then he muft tell of ech wife the name,
Which is no greate matter : the beft are but fhrewes ;
But I will not fay fo, for feare I haue blame.

GREEDINESSE enter.

GREEDINES. Now, Corage, I say, what newes in
thy cofte ?

What good tidinges abroad doeft thou heare ?

CORAGE, Why, what doeft thou heare ? hye thee
home in poſte,

For I ſent home a gentleman to ſeeke for thee there.

GREEDINES. And what is the matter that with me
he would haue ?

CORAGE. He muſt borrow ſome money his worſhip
to faue.

GREEDINES. Tuff ! then to tarry he will be glad,
If that he come any money to borrow.

CORAGE. Yea, but take the time while it is to
be had,

And defer not thy profite untill to-morrow.

This gentleman is a courtier braue,

And now in neede of money doth ſtand ;

Therefore, thine owne asking of him thou mayest
haue,

So that thou wilt pleafure him out of hand.

GREEDINES. And is [he] a courtyer and standeth
in neede ?

This to my purpose doth rightly fall,
For the needy courtyers my cofers do feede,
And, I warrant thee, that pinch him I shall.
For fince I know his neede to be fuch,
That money he muft needes occupy,
I know I cannot afke him to much,
If I his mind will fatisfy.

Therefore, now, Corage, to thee adew.

[FAYNE *a going out.*

CORAGE. Nay, fofter, fyr : yet one word with you.
You told me not yet how you did agree
With No-good-neighbourhood, that good man growte.

GREEDINES. Mary, fyr, he hath gone thorow with
mee,

And the old tenaunt he will thruft out.
But I with that matter haue nought to doe ;
Let them two now for that agree :
I know I fhould neuer haue come vnto
So much, as therefore he hath payed to mee.
Therefore I might be counted mad,
If I to his proffer would not haue tended.
This profitable leffon of thee I had ;
The tyde taryeth man was not vnremembred.

PROFITE *entreth.*

PROFITE. God speede, fyr. I pray you shew me, if
you can,

Did you not mayster Welthineffe here about see ?

CORAGE. Cockes passion ! this is the gentlemans
man, [Speaking to GREEDINES.

Which at home doth tarry for thee.—

Syr, Welthineffe is not hence far away.

[Turning to PROFITE.

GREEDINES. I am hee, fyr : what would you of me
require ?

PROFITE. My maister at home for your worship
doth stay,

And to speake with you he doth greatly desyre,

If it be your pleasure home to repayre ;

Or, if ye will, he shall hether come.

Your maysterships pleasure therefore declare,

And I know incontinent it shalbe done.

GREEDINES. Nay, I meane homeward to hye,
For that I suppose to be the best ;

And by all the meanes that in me doth lye

I will fulfill your maysters request.

PROFITE. I trust, also, you will consider my payne.
Thereby, I trust, you shall not loose,

For perchaunce I may preferre your gayne

By meane which with my mayster I doe vse.

GREEDINES. As I fynd thee ready in furthering of
me,

So doubt thou not but thou shalt fynd
 Me euen as ready in pleasuring of thee.
 A word is ynough ; thou knowest my minde :
 Therefore, hence let vs now take the way.

PROFITE. My mayster thinketh vs long, I dare say.
 [*Exiunt.*]

CORAGE. I warrant you, I will not be long behind.
 I know no cause why here I should stay :
 A company of my schollers I know where to fynd ;
 Therefore, toward them I will take the way. [*Exiunt.*]

The TENAUNT tormented entreth.

TENAUNT. Whether shall I goe, or which way
 shall I take

To fynd a Christian constant and just ?
 Ech man himselfe a Christian would make,
 Yet few or none that a man may trust ;
 But for the most parte fayned, inclined to lust,
 As to infaciable couetousenesse moste abhominable,
 Or some other vice most vile and detestable.
 It is well knowen what rigour doth raigne
 In that cruell Tyger, my landlord, Greedinesse,
 Who in my house would not let me remayne,
 But hath thrust me out with spitefull speedinesse,
 Hauing no respect to my naked needinesse,
 But altogether regarding his gayne,
 Hath bereaued my liuing from me to my payne.
 What Neighbourhood is may also be seene.

My neighbour supposed is my deadly foe.
What cruell chaunce like to mine hath beene ?
Both my house and liuing I must now forgoe.
What neighbour is he that hath serued me so ?
Thus crewelly to take my house ouer my head,
Wherein these forty yeres I haue bene harbored
and fed,

And now, being aged, must thus be thrust out,
With mine impotent wife, charge and famely !
Now, how I shall liue I stand in great dout,
Leading and ending my life in misery.
But better doe so, then as they liue, by theeuery,
Catching and snatching all that euer they can,
Because that (they say) Tyde taryeth no man.
But God graunt that they, in following that tyde,
Loose not the tyde of Gods mercy and grace :
I doubt that from them away it will flyde,
If they still pursue the contrary race,
As dayly they doe, Gods laws to deface,
To their own soules hurte, and to their neighbours
damage,

Still following the instructions of curfed Corage.
I see whome I seeke is not here to be found,
I meane Christianity, constant and iust.
I doubt that in bondage he lyeth fast bound,
Or else he is dead, and lyeth buried in dust.
But if he be liuing to fynd him I trust.

Therefore till I fynd him, I will no where stay,
 Neyther in seeking of him will I make delay.

Enter CORAGE.

CORAGE. Ah, fyrra ! I cannot choofe but rejoyce,
 When I remember my little pretty boyes,
 My fchollers, I meane, who all with one voyce
 Crye, we love Corage without other choyce.
 The yong ymphes I incorage, and leade
 In ryotous footesteps fo trimly to treade,
 That guilty and vnguiltly often they pleade,
 And, being found guilty, hang all faue the head.
 The virgins which are but tender of age,
 Rather than their trim attyre should fwage,
 Their tayles for new they will lay to gage
 To euery flaue, peasaunt and page.
 The graund signyoures, which in yeares are rype,
 With couetous clawes, like the greedy grype,
 Their pore brethren from their liuinges do wype,
 And euermore daunce after Corages pype.
 Corage neuer in quiet doth lye,
 But the tyde taryeth no man still he doth crye :
 Therefore, worke thy will by and by,
 That rich thou mayest be when euer thou dy.

The mayd WILLFULL WANTON *enter.*

WANTON. Of all misfortunes mine is the worst.
 Truely, I think I was accurst
 When I was an infant, not fully nurst.

Alas! for grieve my harte it will burst.
I dayly see women, as yong as I,
Which in whyte caps our dore doe go by :
I am as able as they with a man to lye,
Yet my mother doth still my wedding denye.
She sayeth for wedding that I am vnfit :
Maydes of fowerteene yeares, she sayeth, hath not wit,
And so euery day she sayeth I shall tarry yet,
That would God I were put quick in the pit!
God wot, we maydes abide much misery,
And alwayes kept in from hauing liberty.
Of euill tongues we walke in ieborty,
Most people are now so full of jelousy.
If a yong man a mayde doe but kisse,
Now (say the people) you may see what she is :
Where, if I were a wyfe, nothing I should misse,
But liue like a lady in all joyfull blisse.
I right well doe know the peoples spight :
Because that to be pleasaunt I haue delight,
Therefore past grace, they say, I am quight,
And a Wilfull Wanton my name they do wright.
Yet, I trust in God once to see the day
That to recompence their spight I may :
For if euer I be marryed and beare any sway,
Then I know what I haue to say.
Therefore, good God, make me shortly a wyfe,
Or else shortly take away my life.

CORAGE. Alas! prety Parnell, you may foone end
this stryfe.

Yong men fit for husbandes in this towne are ryfe;
And your mothers ill will you may foone prevent,
If you will follow my counsell and intent.

WANTON. Oh! but if my mother would thereto
consent,
To be marryed this night I could be content.

CORAGE. But consent she or not, yet is it for thee
Unto thine owne preferment to see.
Doeft thou with any yong man so agree
That he would consent thy husband to bee?

WANTON. Dyuers there are who gladly would
haue mee,
And being their wyfe would trimly bebraue me.
From all wrong they would defend and faue me.
Tush! ynowe there are which to wife do craue me.

CORAGE. Then deferre no time, if that thou be wife,
For now to preferment thou art like to arise:
The tyde taryeth no man, else the prouerbe lyes.
In delaying comes harme, thou seest with thine eyes;
But by mariage all this greefe shall be eased,
And thy joys shall manifold wayes be increased.

WANTON. But, alas! my mother will so be dis-
pleased,
That, I know, her wrath will neuer be appeased.

CORAGE. And wilt thou for displeasing of her

Thine owne preferment and fortune defer?
Now art thou youthfull thy felfe to prefere,
And thy youthfull bewty mens heartes may ftere;
But youthfull bewty will not alwayes laft:
The tyde taryeth no man, but foone it is paf.
Therefore to wedding fee thou make hafte,
For now much time thou doeft loofe in wafte.

WANTON. Oh, what comfortable wordes are thefe!
Truely your talke doth me greatly pleafe.
I will not finte but feeke out alwayes,
Untill that I haue found fome eafe.
I care not what my mother doe fay:
This matter I will no longer delay,
But a husband I will haue out of the way,
And then may I boldly dally and play.
No man dare me then once to controule,
Leaft my husband chaunce for to fcoule.
If any man vfe to intreate me foule,
My husband fhall lay him ouer the noule.
It doth me good to thinke of the bliffe
Which betweene new marryed couples is:
To fee their dallyaunce fome tyme, ywiffe,
It fetteth my teeth an edge, by giffe.
Truely, I would gladly giue my beft frock,
And all thinges elfe unto my fmock,
To be marryed in the morning by vi of the clock.
I befrew my heart, if that I doe mock.

Syr, you will not beleeeue how I long
To be one of the wedded throng :
My thinkes it lyeth in no tongue
To shew the joyes that is them among.

CORAGE. It passeth joy which they imbrace.
They take their pleasure in every place :
Like Aungels, they doe run their race
In passing blisse, and great solace.

WANTON. Well, fyr, I will no longer tarry,
But some man out of hand will marry ;
Although from my mothers minde I varry,
Yet your wordes in minde I carry.
Therefore, good fyr, to you adew,
Untill agayne I meete with you.
If I speede well, a good coate new
To your parte may chaunce infue.

Exiunt.

CORAGE. Alas ! Wilfull Wanton, my pretty peate,
My wordes haue fet her in such a heate ;
Now toward wedding her loue is so greate
That scarce she can neither drinke nor eate.
Now I, Corage, in her doe begin,
So that for her mother she cares not a pin :
Now all her mind is a husband to win ;
To be vnwedded she thinketh it fin.
How say you, my virgines euery one,
Is it not a finne to lye alone,
When xij yeares of age is gone ?
I dare say you thinke so euery one.

HELPE entereth.

HELPE. Nay, now let him shifte for himselfe if he will,

Since I am payed the thing I did seeke.

Alas! good gentleman, he is ferued but ill :

In fayth he is in now by the weeke.

He hath nought but that for which he hath prayed :

The lone of his money he hath dearly bought.

I warrant you, it might he boldly sayd,

His cardes being tolde he hath wonne right nought.

CORAGE. And how so, Helpe? is he so pincht
I say?

By my troth, that is a sport for to heare.

HELPE. Serra, he standes bound forty poundes
to pay,

But little more then thirty away he did beare :

For what with the marchautes duety for lone,

Item for writing vnto the scrybe,

The third part into my pouch is gone ;

And the marchautes man hath not lost his brybe.

So that amongest vs fower, almoſte ten poundes

Is clearly disperſed and ſpent.

The Gentleman ſweareth, harte, blood, and woundes,

Repenting that after thy counsell he went.

CORAGE. Yea, but fyrs, my parte is the least,
Who am the captayne of all the route.

HELPE. Tush, man! for that matter ſet thy heart
at reſt,

For that which we haue thou shalt not be without.
But, fyrra, seeft thou not who doth yonder appeare ?
By my troth, me thinkes two knaues they are.

PROFITE *and* FURTHERAUNCE *enter together.*

FURTHER. Indeeде, whofoeuer unto thee is neare,
For a knaue he needeth not to feeke farre.

CORAGE. Sirs, I will tell troth to make you agree.
By geffe, I thinke, you are knaues all three.

FURTHER. In deede, three we are ; we are no leffe,
And you are the fourth to make up the meffe.

CORAGE. Well, for that matter we will not greatly
ftriue.

But, fyrs, what wind now doth you hether driue ?
I faith, to shew thee what luck we haue had,
By Willing-to-win-Worship, that lusty lad :
To make talke thereof now it is no time,
But if thou wilt go with vs, we will giue thee the wine.

PROFITE. And as my mayfter pleased you two, and
the scribe,

So of Greedineffe, the Marchaunt, I had a bribe :
So that none of us went vacant away,
But of one of the parties had honestly our pay.

HELPE. Yea, but of them both I had my bribes.
My maysters, the Broker can play of both fides :
He is almost payd as well for his trotting,
As is the Scribe for his writing or blotting.
Yea, and yet both parties are not content,

For, I dare say, the gentleman his bargayne doth
repent.

FURTHER. Marry, fyr, can you blame him, that fo
hath bene rung ?

He may say he hath payde to heare a faire tongue ;
And now without his man is he gone.

His man geues him leaue for to walke alone.

PROFITE. Let me alone ; I warrant thee some ex-
cuse I will haue,

And the worst fall, I know I shalbe but called knaue.

But yet, firs, after him I will hye,

And by the way I will inuent some lye.

CORAGE. Nay, softe, Profite ; you must not go fo,
You must helpe to sing a parte or you goe.

PROFITE. So it be short I am well content.

CORAGE. And all the residue thereto do consent.

The Song.

We haue great gayne, with little payne,

And lightly spend it to :

We doe not toyle, nor yet we moyle,

As other pore folkes do.

We are winners all three,

And so will we be,

Where euer that we come a :

For we know how

To bend and bow,
And what is to be done a.

To kneele and crouch to fill the pouch,
We are full glad and fayne :
We euer still, euen at our will,
Are getters of great gayne.
We are winners, &c.

It is our will to poule and pill
All such as doe vs trust :
We beare in hande good friendes to stand,
Though we be most unjust.
We be winners, &c.

Full far aboutes we know the routes
Of them that riches had :
Whome through deceite, as fysh to bayte,
We made their thrift forth gad.
We are winners, &c.

Finis.

CORAGE. Now, Cole Profite, in fayth gramarcy for
thy song.

PROFITE. Much goode doe it thee ; but I am afeard
I tarry to long.

Therefore, friendes, adue, for I will be gone.

HELPE. Nay softe, Profite; leaue vs not behind,
For hence to depart we also do minde.

CORAGE. Then, three knaues on a cluster, get
you together :

Needes knaues you must go, for so you came hether.

PROFITE. But here we found thee, a knaue most
of all ;

And so we leaue thee, as thou doest vs call. [*Exeunt.*]

CORAGE. Now, so is the purpose, and this is the
case.

Good cousin Cutpurse, if you be in place,

I beseech you now your businesse to plye :

I warrant thee, I, no man shall thee espye.

If they doe, it is but an howers hanging,

But such a purse thou mayest catch, worth a yeres
spending.

I warrant thee, encouraging thou shalt not lack :

Come hyther, let me clap thee on the back ;

And if thou wilt now follow my request,

At Tyborne I may chaunce clap thee on the brest :

So that of clapping thou shalt haue store,

Here clapping behind, and at Tyborne before.

But, cosen Cutpurse, if ought thou do get,

I pray thee let me haue part of thy cheate.

I meane not of thy hanging fare,

But of thy purse, and filched share.—

Well, fyrs, it is time that hence I doe pack me,
 For I am afrayde that some men doe lack me :
 For some are, perhaps, about some good deede,
 And, for lack of Corage, they dare not proceede.

Exiunt.

The COURTIER entred.

COURTIER. As with the poyson which is most
 delectable

The heart of man is sooneſt infected,
 So the foe moſte hurteth who ſeemeth moſt amiable,
 And of all wiſe men is to be detected.
 At this time this ſaying I haue elected,
 For that they which friendſhip to me profeſſed,
 In ſteade thereof my hurte haue addreſſed.
 They promiſed me my friendes for to ſtand,
 And to helpe me to that which I did craue,
 Untill that I had obligated my land,
 And then I was ſubject to euery knaue.
 Ech man, then, a portion would haue ;
 The Marchaunt for lone, the Broker for his payne,
 And the Scribe for wryting : ech man had a gayne.
Ninubula pluvia imbrem parit,
 A mizeling ſhower ingendreth great wet,
 Which ſaying *officium proverbialia non tarit,*
 Many a little maketh a great.
 So euery of them by me wrought his feate,
 And euery of theſe brybes being caſt to account,

To a good porcion, I feele, do amount.
But what vilany is there in such,
Who, knowing a man of their helpe to haue neede,
Will incroch upon him so vnreasonable much,
Their owne greedy desires to feede !
Juuenall, I remember, doth teach them in deede,
Whose wordes are these, both open and playne,
The vicious man only seeketh his own gayne :
Yea, twice vicious, may they be named,
Who doe auarice so much imbrace :
But what is there aunswer when they are blamed ?
Say they, we haue here but a little space,
Therefore we haue neede to be getting apace :
Wherefore should we gayning lay away.
The Tyde taryeth no man : this is all they can say.

CORAGE entreth.

CORAGE. And as soone as she had supped vp the
broth,
The ladle she layd vpon his face :
Woman, quoth he, why art thou so wroth ?
Knaue, quoth she, get thee out of this place.

[And smiteth the Gentleman.]

COURTYER. Why, friend, arte thou not well in
thy wit ?
Wherefore smitest thou me in such sorte ?

CORAGE. Iesus, Gentleman ! are you here yet ?
I thought long er this you had bene at the Courte.

Therefore you must pardon mine offence,
For I little thought it had been you.

COURTYER. Thy company is so good I will get me
hence ;

Therefore, curfed Corage, adue.

CORAGE. And, in fayth, will you needes begon ?
What, man, you might tarry awhile.

COURTYER. In thy company I haue tarryed to long,
For I perceauē thou art full of guile. *Exiunt.*

CORAGE. Farewell froft ; will you needes be gone ?
Adue, ſince that you will needes away.
In fayth, this ſport is trimly alone,
That I can thus a gentleman fray.

GREEDINESSE and HELPE enter together.

GREEDINES. Oh, Helpe ! might I once ſee that day,
Tuff, I would not care who I did wrong.

HELPE. Doubt not, you neede not that for to fray ;
You ſhall ſee that day, or that it be long.

CORAGE. What day is that whereof you do ſpeake ?
May not a body your counsell know ?

HELPE. Mary, fyr, this day, whereof we do intreate,
Is a day of ſome notable ſhow.
When the Courtyers in their brauery ſhal be
Before their Prince ſome ſhow to make :
If ſuch a day Welthineſſe might ſee,
He hopeth, then, ſome money to take ;
For without coſt they may not be braue,

And many lack money, as he doth suppose.
Wherefore at some a good hand he would haue :
I warrant thee by none he hopeth to lose.

CORAGE, Tush, man! doubt not such dayes there
will come ;

That matter thou needest not to feare.

GREEDINES. To here of such dayes I would ryde
and run,

So glad I would be of such dayes to heare.

Oh! with these courtiers I loue to deale well,
Or with other yong gentlemen who haue pounds or
lands ;

For whether I do lend them, or my wares to
them sell,

I am sure to win largely at their handes.

And specially where in neede they do stand ;

Then, in fayth, I doe pinch them home,

When I see they must needs haue money out of hand,
And that other shifte to worke they haue none.

HELPE. Why that is the way, fyr, to come alofte :
Great welth thereby, I know, you doe get.

GREEDINES. I warrant thee, no time I driue of ;
Neyther for any mans saying the same will I let.
Well, fyrs, I must now leaue of this talke,
And I must bid you both twayne adue.

[Fayne a going out.]

CORAGE. Softe, maystir Greedinesse ; whether do
you walke ?

What, fyr, I pray you, one word with you.

GREEDINES. Towardes Powles Crosse from hence
I doe goe ;

Perchaunce some profite there I may meete.

CORAGE. To Powles Crosse ! what there will you
doe ?

• Do you the preachers wordes so well like ?

GREEDINES. Tush ! for preachinge I passe not
a pin :

It is not the matter wherefore I do go,

For that goeth out whereas it comes in ;

But herein my meaning to thee I will shew.

You know that many thether doe come,

Wherefore, perchaunce, such may be my hap

Of my ill debtors there to spye some,

Whome without delay by the heeles I will clap.

HELPE. Why, fyr, and will you areft them there,
While they at fermon preaching be ?

GREEDINES. Will I, quoth you ; wherefore should
I feare ?

It is best taking them while I may them see.

CORAGE. Yea, bir Lady, fyr, full wisely you say :
Take them while you may them get,
Or else perchaunce it wilbe many a day
Or on them agayne your eye you shall fet.

GREEDINES. I remember what you haue sayd :
Tyde taryeth no man ; marke you that :

Wherefore no time herein shalbe delayed,
Therefore, fyrs, adew : to long I do chat. *Exiunt.*

CORAGE. Now, that here is none but you and I,
I pray thee, deliuer to me my part :
Dispatch and geue me it by and by,
And that, I say, with a willing hart.

HELPE. I know no part I haue of thine ;
Therefore, of me thou gettest no part.

CORAGE. I will make thee confesse a parte of mine,
Or else I will make thy bones to smart.

HELPE. When the residue do thereto agree,
Then will I also geue thee a parte ;
But if they no part will giue unto thee,
If I giue thee any, beshrew my harte.

CORAGE. Yea, friend Helpe, are you at that
poynt ?

I will make you otherwise to say,
Or else I will heate you in euery ioynt.
Now, Mayster Helpe, how like you this play ?

[And fighteth to prolong the time, while

WANTONNESSE maketh her ready.

HELPE. What, hold thy hand, man ! art thou
so mad ?

CORAGE. To confesse me a part I will make thee
glad.

HELPE. A parte thou shalt haue when home we
doe come.

CORAGE. Upon that condicion mine anger is done.
A, fyrra! think you to make me your knaue,
And yet all the profite your felues you would haue?

Enter WASTEFULNESSE, the husband of

WANTONNESSE.

WASTFUL. What joy is like the linked life?
What hope might hold me from my wife?
Can man his tongue so frame,
Or eke dispose me from my dame?
What doth my substaunce good to mee?
I will, therefore, be frank and free,
Where couples yong do meete,
That plyaunt peece so sweete,
My joy for to declare,
Whose beauty is so rare,
In cofers lockt to lye,
To ferue my wyfe and I.

CORAGE. Then, doe you wisely, I sweare by
S. Anne :

Take time while time is, for time will away.
The niggard is neuer counted a man;
Therefore, remember to doe as you say.

WASTFUL. I warrant thee, what I haue fayd
Nothing I meane shalbe delayed.
I will the fame fulfill,
To ease and please my will.

HELPE. Truly, fyr, you doe wisely therein,

For what good of hoording infues?
Undoubtedly I thinke it a sinne,
And beastes they are which the same do vse.

WASTFUL. Use it who list, for me he shall; I
 meane to hoord no store;
I meane to serue my time withall, and then I seeke
 no more.

WANTONNESSE *enter.*

WANTON. Jefus! husband, what doe you meane
To run abroad, and leaue me at home?
You are such a man as I haue not seene.
I see well hereafter you will leaue me alone,
That so soone begin from me to be straying.
What, man! it is yet but honny moone.

WASTFULL. What, woman! would you haue me
 alwayes playing?
So may we shortly both be vndone.
As for pleasure there is a time,
So for profite there is the like;
Therefore I pray thee, gentle wife mine,
Be contented that my profite I seeke.

WANTON. Yea, but husband, I say, consider in
 your mind
That now we are yong and plyaunt to play,
But age approaching makes vs lame and blind,
And lusty corage doth then draw away.
Then what may substaunce vs auayle,

For age no pleasure doth regard ?
 Therefore, good sweete harte, doe not quayle :
 Thinke neuer that the world is hard.

CORAGE. Undoubtedly, most true it is :
 The woman herein doth truely say.
 Sir, haue not you heard before this,
 Tyde taryeth no man, but will away.

WASTFULL. But better it is hardly to begin,
 And after in better estate to bee,
 Then fyrst to be alofte full trim,
 And after to fall to lower degree.

WANTON. Truely, that is but a foolish toy,
 At the fyrst to liue hardly and bare :
 Many we see misse that hoped joy,
 And then it prooueth for others they spare.
 Haue not many had full sorrowfull hartes
 By losing of that which they did spare ?
 Had they not better haue taken their partes,
 Then so for others them selues to make bare.
 And what know we if we shall liue
 To take our partes of that we scrape :
 Would it not then your harte greeue
 To leaue your substaunce in such rate ?

WASTFUL. Yea, but sweete harte, if naught we
 shall haue,
 When hereafter we shall aged wax,
 Then, had we better with vs in graue,
 Then needy pouerty should vs vex.

WANTON. Doubt you that fuch chaunce fhall
befall?

Truely, you are greatly vnwyfe ;
Wee are able to keepe vs from fuch thrall :
Spend, and God will fend, elfe the prouerbe lyes.

WASTFULL. His fending, woman, we dayly do fee,
Is a ftaffe and a wallet vnto fuch
Who fuch exceffiuue spenders bee :
Experience thereof we haue to much.

WANTON. Well, husband, this talke is in vayne,
Therefore ceafe fo fharpely to fpeake ;
For vnleffe fuch talke you do refrayne,
I feare for vnkindneffe my harte will breake.
I little thought that you would thus
Haue now refrayned me of my will :
And now right well I may difcuffe, [*Shee weepeth.*
That you doe loue fome other gill.

WASTFUL. Why, woman, doeft thou thinke that I
Haue thought all this while as I haue faid ?
I did it only thy mind to trye ;
For pleafure in me fhall not be delayed.
While the time is, the time I will take,
What foeuer I lift to fay :
Of my goods no God I will make ;
Therefore, good wife, do thy forrow away.

WANTON. A, fayth ! are you fuch a one indeede ?
By giffe, you made me almoft afeard :

My harte in my belly was ready to bleede
When fuch foolifh wordes in you I hearde.

HELPE. I would haue counted him greatly vnwife,
If he were fo foolifh as himfelfe he made.
Fooles they are which fuch pleafure defpife,
But I knew that therein he would not wade.
But, truely, I am right glad to fee
That fo good an agreement betweene you is ;
For, truely, where couples doe fo well agree,
It may not be chofen but there is great bliffe.
I am forry that thus we muft parte you free.
Corage, it is time for us to departe.

WANTON. But yet, my friendes, before that you goe,
Of a fong helpe us to fmg a parte.
By my troth, husband, we muft needes haue a fong :
Will you not helpe to further the fame ?

WASTFUL. Yes, by my troth, fo it be not long,
Or elfe you might count me greatly to blame.

CORAGE. And I am content a part for to beare.

HELPE. Then, be fure I will helpe in with a fhare.

The Song.

Though Wastefullneffe and Wantonneffe
Some men haue vs two named,
Yet Pleafauntneffe and Plyauntneffe
Our names we haue now framed.

For as I one is pleasaunt, to kisse and to cully,
The other is plyaunt as euer was holly.

As youth would it haue,
So will we be braue.

To liue in blisse we will not misse ;
What care we for mens sayings ?
What joy is this, to fporte and kisse,
But hurte comes in delayings.
The one is full ready to the others beeking,
Betweene us there is neither chiding nor checking.
As youth will it haue, &c.

Full braue and full fyne we passe the time :
Take time while time is byding.
What ioy is thine, the same is mine ;
My mind shall not be flyding.
Our goods are our owne, why should we spare,
Or for time to come why should we care ?
As youth would it haue, &c.

CORAGE. Now, friendes, adue, for we must depart.
WASTFUL. Farewell, my gentle friendes, with all
my hart.

WANTON. Well, husband, now I will home re-
payre

To see that your dinner dressed be.

[*Exiunt.*

WASTFUL. Doe fo, wife, and fee we haue good fare,
I meane not long to tarry after thee. [Pause.
Whose joy may be compared to mine ?
I haue a wife bewtifull and gay ;
She is yong, pleasaunt, proper and fyne,
And plyant to please me both night and day.
For whome should I pinch, for whome should I spare ?
Why should I not be liberal and free ?
How euer the world goe I doe not care,
I haue ynough for my wife and me :
And if my substaunce chaunce to decay,
I know my credite is not so ill,
But that I can borrow twenty pound alway
To serue me at my pleasure and will.
For repayment thereof no care I will take ;
No matter it is, if the same I may get,
While it lasteth therewith I will merry make,
What skills it though that I come in debt ?
While yong I am, youthfull I will be,
And passe my time in youthfull forte ;
For, as my wife here said vnto me,
Age doth delight in no pleasaunt sport.
Wherefore, since pleasure I doe loue,
In youth it behoues me to take the same.
Nothing there from my heart shall moue,
But I thereto my heart will frame.
I feare me that I tarry to long :

My wife doe looke for me before this ;
Therefore homeward I will be gone,
For there is joy and heauenly blisse. [*Exiunt.*

The SERGEAUNT and the DEBTOR, rested, entereth.

DEBTOR. What infidelity in him doth rest,
Who no time forbearcth to take his pray !
Most like the greedy and savadge beast,
Who in cruelty rageth both night and day.
Might he not the space of one sermon stay ?
What care or minde gaue he to Gods word,
Who at preaching thereof did me so disturbe ?
Is the Sabbath day and Paules Crosse
A time and place to vex thy debtor ?
Or hast thou, Greedinesse, by me had any losse ?
Nay, by me thou art a hundereth pound the better.
I speake of the least, and not of the greater.
Yet I neuer denyed my debt for to pay,
But, in deede, I required a longer day.

SERGEANT. Tush, fyr ! this talke is all but in
vayne :

Meane you thus the time to delay ?
Dispatch, therefore, and please me for my payne,
And toward the Counter let vs away.

DEBTOR. No haste but good ; stay yet a while,
Or else take the payne with me for to walke
About the quantity of half a mile,
With a friend of mine that I might talke.

SERGEANT. For a Royall I will not so far goe ;
Therefore, fet your heart at quyet.

DEBTOR. I meane to please no Sergeant so ;
I am no customer for your dyet.
But since to goe you doe not intend,
You must take paynes here to tarry with me,
Untill for a friend of mine I doe send,
Which, I trust, shortly my bayle will be.

SERGEANT. Neyther will I with thee here re-
mayne ;
Therefore, dispatch, and let vs away.
Thinkest thou that I, hauing naught for my payne,
Will eyther goe with thee, or heare for thee stay ?

DEBTOR. And what wilt thou aske, with me here
to stay ?

SERGEANT. At one word, ten groates thou shalt pay,
Or else to the Counter we must out of hand.

DEBTOR. That will I doe with a right good will,
Rather then so much thou shalt get :
I will not so much thy minde fulfill,
If that my harte my hande may let.

SARGEANT. Why, then, with speede let vs away.
This deede thou wilt repent, I trow.

DEBTOR. Well, wherefore now doe we stay ?
I am ready hence to goe.

SERGEANT. Come on then. [*They two go out.*]

CHRISTIANITY *must enter with a sword, with a title of pollicy; but on the other side of the tytle must be written Gods word: also a shield whereon must be written Riches; but on the other side of the shield must be Fayth.*

CHRISTIAN. Christianity I doe represent.
Mufe not though the sword of pollicy I beare;
Neyther marueyle not what is mine intent,
That this fayleable shield of riches I weare.
Greedy-Great will haue it so every where,
Greedy-Great for this cause I haue named,
For that the greater part vse greedines, which is to
be blamed.

As the greater part will, thereto must I yeeld.
Their cruell force I may not withstand;
Therefore, I beare this deformed sword and shield,
Which I may be ashamed to hold in my hand.
But the Lord deliuer me from their thraldome and
band,
For if the enemy assayle me, then am I in thrall,
Because I lack such Armour as is taught by
S. Paule :

For, in steade of Gods word, and the shield of fayth,
I am deformed with pollicy and riches vayne;
And still I say, as the greater part sayeth,
I am still a christian, and so shall remayne.
My Christianity, say they, no damage doth sustaine :

But alas ! they are deceiued, their armour is not fure ;
 For neither pollicy, nor ryches, may long time indure :
 Yet vpon those two we greatly depend.
 We say, by pollicy our selues we can saue :
 Riches as a shield, we say, will defend,
 And by riches we possesse whateuer we craue ;
 So that for riches we sell all that we haue ;
 Not only the body, and all thinges terrestriall,
 But also the soule, which ought be celestiaall.

FAYTHFULL-FEW *enter.*

FAYTHFULL. Alas ! I lament to heare the report
 Which of vs cittizens in euery place is spread.
 It is not long synce I came from the court,
 Where I would haue bene glad to haue hid my head.
 With the spoyle of the fymple there they say were fed,
 So that for the couetous greedines, which some citti-
 zens vse,

A shamefull ill report to the whole ensues.

But I must needs confesse some among vs there be,
 For whose fakes the whole number beareth great
 blame,

They abuse themselues so towards euery degree,
 As man without reason, and past worldly shame.
 Neither regard they their owne, nor their ill name ;
 So they may haue the chaffy treasure of the world,
 They passe not both with God, and man to be abhord.
 There is no time nor place that they will forbear,

When any of their helpe hath most neede :
Then shall he pay treble for his money or ware,
Or else of them he is not like to speede ;
They nothing regard his pouerty or neede.
But who is it which yonder doth stand ?

[He goeth toward him.]

Holding the sword of Pollicy in his hand.
Most certayne I am that face I should know.
Syr, is not your name Christianity ?

CHRISTIAN. Yes, undoubtedly, my name is so,
As you are Faythfull-Few, embracer of verity.

FAYTHFULL. And shall the sword of Pollicy by
Christianity be borne ?

Truely, that is contrary to your nature and kinde.
Now are you deformed like a thing forlorne,
Which maketh me suspect of me in my minde.

CHRISTIAN. Oh ! Faythfull-Fewe, of me haue no
doubt ;

I am Christianity, though thus deformed :
And though thus abused by the great route,
Yea, by God I trust my tytle shalbe turned.

FAYTHFULL. By the power of God I will not delay
[He turneth the tittle.]

To turn this tytle, most vntrue and fayned,
And I will endue thee, and that straight way,
With such weapons as Saynt Paule hath ordayned.

CHRISTIAN. Alas, in vayne this payne you do take ;
 For as you faithfull in number are few,
 So the power is but small that you can make
 To resist the greedy great ones who are agaynst you.

FAYTHFULL. *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos ?*
 If God be with vs, who may vs resist ?
 Weigh not then the number, but weigh his purpose,
 Who ruleth all thinges as himselfe doth list.
 I know how Greedineffe with the great part is vsed,
 Their pilling, pouling, pinching and spoyling ;
 How both the simple and others, with them are
 abused :

They liue by the fruites of other mens toyling.
 But God is not dead, neyther is he a sleepe,
 Although for a time his hand he does hold ;
 Yet doth he remember his little sheepe,
 And will reuenge the wrong done to his folde.

CORAGE and GREEDINESSE enter, as though they
 saw not CHRISTIANITY.

CORAGE. Let them say what they will, do thou as
 I told thee ;
 Trust thou not to any knaue of them all :
 Not a preacher of them all in thy neede will vphold
 thee.

Try them who will, their deuotion is small.

GREEDINES. Thou wilt not beleue how the knaue
 doth prate.

Ye cittizens repent, thus he did crye ;
Looke about in time, quoth hee, or it be to late,
For the vengeaunce of God at hand is full nye :
As though he knew what were in Gods minde.
Surely, it is a shame they are suffred to lye.

CORAGE. But in my talke great profyte thou dost
fynde ;
They are all lyers, as their talke doth trye :
By my doctrine thou haste great profyte and gayne,
Great riches and substaunce therby thou doest win :
To instruct thee dayly I take great payne,
Which way thou shalt thy riches bring in.

GREEDINES. Thou doest so in deede, and thanks I
thee giue.
But, fyrra, now I remember a thing
Which made me not long since to laugh in my
fleeue.

To me a yong gentleman the broker did bring,
Whose father was dead of late, as it seemed,
And his landes in morgage to a marchaunt was layde.
Wherefore it behooued the same were redeemed,
For the day was at hand when the same should be
payde ;

And I, perceauing his neede to be such,
I thought I would pinch him, or that I went.
To giue mine owne asking he did not greatly grudge,
And when I had girded him, thence I him sent.

FAYTHFULL. More shame for thee, and such as
thou art :

That with life thou art permitted it is great pittie.
Thou arte a Chryftian with a cankered heart,
And the caufe of reproch to the whole citty.
Chriftianity by thee is greatly abufed :
Of his righteous armour thou doeft him bereaue,
And in ftead thereof, by him to be vfed,
The armour of Sathan with him thou doft leaue.

GREEDINES. Why, would you not haue me how to
inuent

Which way were beft to bring in my gayne ?

FAYTHFULL. But not in fuch fort to fet thine
intent,

That all the world of the fhould complaine.

GREEDINES. I cry you mercy, I know where you
are now :

In a courtiers behalfe this oration you make.

Of late there was one complayned how

Exceffiuue gayne of him I did take.

It is the caft of them all fo to fay,

When prodigally their money is fpent ;

Or if the Prince will not them pay,

Then on the marchaunt fome lyes they inuent.

FAYTHFULL. Arte thou not afhamed of the Prince
to fpeake ill,

Thine owne abufed doing to excufe ?

No marueyle though the citty haue all mens ill will,
When both in word and in deede thy felfe thou doest
mifufe.

Sed Reginum est male audire cum befecerint.

Antifthenes doth truely this faying refite,
It is geuen to Princes (fayeth he) though they be
beneuolent,

To be euell spoken of, which is agaynft all right.

GREEDINES. Syr, you are beft fay no more then
you are able to proue,

Leaft I make you to repent your boldneffe,
For if my pacience you to much do moue,
I may chaunce turne your heate into coldneffe.
Why, I lende my money like a friend, for good will,
And thereby doe helpe men at their neede.

FAYTHFULL. A friend thou arte in deede, though
a friend but ill.

Pithagoras thy friendship hath playnely decreede :
There be many, fayth he, who no friendes do
lacke,

And yet of friendship they haue but fkant :
So thou arte a friend for their moneys fake,
And yet thy friendship they allways fhall want.

CHRISTIAN. Affuredly, thou highly offendest,
For that fo double in dealing thou arte.
Aristotle fayeth by the fame thou pretendest,
And not fo to beare a diffembling harte.

A Christian ought not vnto riches to yeeld,
 For it is a thing but fayleable and vayne :
 Riches is no perpetuall shielde,
 But the shield of Fayth shall euer remayne.
 Take, therefore, fayth and Gods word for thy
 fworde,

And arme Christianity in this wise.

GREEDINES. Shall pollicy and riches, then, be
 abhord ?

Syr, they are fooles that them will despise.
 I put case pouerty should me assayle,
 Can Gods word and fayth me any thing ayde ?
 Pouerty against riches can neuer auayle :
 I am sure, syr, this may not be denyde.

FAYTHFULL. We deny not but in this world riches
 beare the fway,
 Yet is not riches to be called sure ;
 For in Gods power it is to make riches decay,
 Whereas Gods word and fayth shall euer endure.

GREEDINES. But geue me riches ; take you Gods
 word and fayth,
 And see which of vs shall haue the better gayne.
 CHRISTIAN. Now, Faythfull-Few, you here what
 he fayth ;

Therefore, to turne the tytles I must be fayne.

FAYTHFULL. Well, since it will no better be,
 To God let vs the cause betake,

Whome, I trust, when as time he doth see,
He will for vs a deliuerance make.

CORAGE. Come, mayster Welthinesse, let vs away.
What should we here any longer doe ?

GREEDINES. In deede, I hold it best as you say ;
Therefore your saying I agree unto.

[They two go out.]

FAYTHFULL. Sorry I am to see his estate :
Now, neare he is to the Fount of Perdition.
God graunt him repentaunce, or it be to late,
That of his finnes he may haue remission.

CHRISTIAN. But alas ! he goeth the contrary way,
For of his couetousnesse he taketh no ruth ;
And Aristotle, I remember, doth say,
The couetous man cannot learne the truth :
Wherefore he cannot, or will not know
The way to reforme me, Christianity.
Therefore from this place now I will goe
To pray vnto God to shew him the verity.
Now, Faythfull-few, adue vnto thee :
I will pray vnto God for thy comfort and ayd.
I beseech thee make like intercession for me,
And that my reformation be not long delayd.

[Exiunt.]

FAYTHFULL. Doubt not thereof, good Christianity,
My indeuour herein shall not be delayde.
Alas ! what is man, not knowing the verity ?

No man, but a beast he may be fayd ;
 Yet many there are, which in the world doth liue,
 Who for Christians will needes accompted be,
 Though to all abominations their felues they do giue,
 And from no kind of vice be cleare or free.
 Covetousnesse is accompted no sinne ;
 Ufury is a science and art :
 All wayes are good whereby we may win,
 Although it be to our neighbours smart.
 Whereby it appeareth from loue we are free ;
 The words of the wise we nothing regarde :
 For without loue no vertue can perfect bee,
 As Plato, the wyse, hath playnely declarede.
 No good thing without loue it is possible to doe :
 Seneca of that opinyon hath bene ;
 Then, how many good thinges do they now, think you,
 In whome no loue at all there is seene ?
 They watch their times, the simple to snare ;
 No time they forbear their pleasures to worke :
 God graunt we, therefore, of them may beware,
 For priuily to snare vs they dayly do lurke.

Enter WASTFULNESSE, poorely.

WASTFUL. Oh ! more then wretch, which so foolishly
 hast spent,
 Not onely thine owne goods, but also other mens !
 What accompt shall I make for the goods to me lent,
 Which neuer I am able for to recompence ?

How wastfully haue I, with Wantonneffe my wyfe,
Consumed our goods, substaunce and treasure,
That, would to God, I were out of my life,
For the remembraunce thereof is greefe without
measure.

My wife and I now are asunder disperfed,
Ech of vs to feeke our liuing alone.
Alas! our woe may not be rehearsed:
Unto whome now should we make our mone?
In taking the time to toward we weare;
We were afeard to long to abide:
Corages counsell in mind we did beare;
He sayd that for no man would tarry the tyde.
But well away now! which way shall I run?
I know it is folly vnto God to call;
For God, I know, my petition will shun,
And into perdition I am now like to fall.
Dispayre! Dispayre!

*DISPAYRE enter in some ougly shape, and stand
behind him.*

Why should I dispayre, since God doth behold
The sinner with mercy, as the Scripture doth say?

DISPAIRE. But thy prodigall finnes are so manifold,
That God of mercy doth thee vtterly deny.
Therefore, to ende thy life it is best.
Thy calling for mercy is all but in vayne;

By ending thy life thou shalt be at rest ;
But if longer thou liue great shall be thy payne.

WASTFULL. Well then, will I seeke some place
where I may

Finish my life with cord, or with knyfe :

The dispatch thereof I will not delay.

Farewell now all the world, but cheefely my wife.

[Fayne a going out.]

FAYTHFUL-FEW *plucketh him agayne.*

FAYTHFULL. Softe ! stay a whyle, and be not
so rash.

Thinkest thou God vnmercifull to be ?

Wilt thou trust dispayre, euen at the fyrst dash ?

Hast thou no fayth in Gods mercy so free ?

Call vpon God with repentaunce and fayth,

By such wayes and meanes as I will instruct thee.

WASTFULL. I beleue God is mercifull, as the
Scripture sayeth.

*[They both kneele, and WASTFULL sayeth
after FAYTHFULL.]*

FAYTHFULL. Well, follow me, and I will conduct
thee.

Oh ! heauenly Father, pardon my offence.

WASTFULL. Oh ! heauenly Father, pardon my
offence.

FAYTHFULL. And graunt that thy mercy may to
me repayre.

WASTFULL. And graunt that thy mercy may to me
repayre.

FAYTHFULL. Also, O Father! banish thou hence.

WASTFULL. Also, O Father! banish thou hence.

FAYTHFULL. That wicked Monster of Dispayre.

WASTFULL. That wicked Monster of Dispayre.

[DISPAYRE *flyeth, and they arise.*

FAYTHFULL. How feelest thou now thy conscience
and minde?

Hopest thou not of Gods mercy and grace?

WASTFULL. Well, God be prayd that here I thee
finde.

How happy was I to approch this place!

Dispayre is now fled, I perfectly know,

And in Gods mercy I firmly doe trust:

Therefore, O Lord! deliver me from thrall,

And pardon me a sinner most vile and vniust.

FAYTHFULL. That is very well sayd, if so thou doe
thinke.

And now frame thy selfe thy life to amend;

Let dispayre no more into thy minde sincke;

But to be a new man doe thou now pretende.

And as heretofore thy mind for to please,

Thou hast learned the Tyde will tarry no man,

So now, it behoueth, for thy greater ease,

That saying after Gods will for to scan.

Take time while time is, thus I doe meane:

Amend thy life whilst here thou hast space ;
 To Gods mercifull promises see that thou leane,
 So shalt thou enioy the Tide of his grace.

WASTFULL. To follow your councell I will doe my
 indeuour :

I will seeke the fame in all poyntes to performe.
 The effect of your wordes I will forget neuer :
 And now I will hence my wife to reforme ;
 That she and I, in manner new,
 May amend our liues to Gods glory and prayfe.
 Wherefore, good fyr, vnto you adue :
 I beseech the Lord to fend thee good dayes.

[*Exiunt.*

FAYTHFULL. See how the time taken their fact
 doth repent,

Who no time will spare in pleasing their will :
 And although the beginning haue a pleasaunt fente,
 Yet of the ending the taste is as ill.
 For who euer it be that without measure
 Doth consume his substaunce in prodigall forte,
 Although he had aboundaunce of treasure,
 Yet will he be a begger, and that in time shorte.
 I marueile where Authority is,
 Who should bee a helpe for the simple oppressed :
 Many thinges there are greatly amisse,
 Which by his meanes must needs be redressed.
 His absence greatly disquieteth my minde,

I will not cease seeking vntill him I do finde.

[*Exiunt.*

Enter CORAGE, weeping.

CORAGE, Out alas ! this tydinges are ill.

My friend, mayster Greedineffe, hath ended his
dayes :

Dispayre upon him hath wrought his will,
And desperately now he is gone his wayes.

As one enraged, and out of his wit,
No remembraunce of God he would haue.

Alas ! poore man, he had a greate fit,
Before that well he was layde in his graue.

Why, but is Greedineffe dead in good fadnesse ?

[*Reasoning with himselfe.*

My thinkes these newes are not true which you tell.

Yes, truely, he dyed in a great madnesse,

And went with the tyde boate straight into Hell.

Why, foole, Greedines will neuer dye,

So long as couetous people do liue.

Then you, belike, doe thinke that I doe lye :

I am as honest a man as any in your fleewe.

I am fure he is dead, or one in his likenesse,

For when he was buried I stood by,

And some sayd he dyed of the new sicknesse.

Therefore, fyr, thinke not that I doe lye ;

For I am as sorry for the death of the man

As any man that liueth this day.

Wherefore I must needes weepe, if I can.

But, husht! some body is comming this way.

Enter AUTHORITY and FAYTHFULL-FEW.

FAYTHFULL. Surely, Authority, the same is euen he:
I warrant you, fyr, you neede not to doubt.

AUTHORI. Then, wyll we handle him kindly, thou
shalt see;

Therefore see that from vs he escape not out.

CORAGE. God faue your honour and prosper your
estate.

I am glad to see you approch this place.

Those which say ill of you, I vtterly doe hate:

I aunfwere for your honour in euery case.

AUTHO. Ah! crafty caytife, why dissemblest
thou so?

Doeft thou thinke that vs thou mayest so blind?

Thy contagious dooinges wee right well do know,

And eake thy property, nature and kind.

Thou arte an encorager to all kindes of vice,

The aged to auaryce and greedy desyre:

The yonger forte lack none of thine aduice,

To all such acts as the Deuill doth require.

CORAGE. Loe, fyr! I thought you did me mistake.

I know right well the man whom you meane;

To fetch him hether good speede I will make.

I warrant you, I will shortly be here agayn.

[Fayne to go out.]

FAYTHFULL. Nay, softe! he is here whome that
we would haue,
Therefore, you neede not him for to fetch.

CORAGE. Yes, I will fetch him, for he is a very
knaue,
And almes it is that a rope he should stretch.

[Still fayn to go out.]

AUTHORI. Upon thy selfe iust iudgement thou
doest giue.
Juuenall sayeth, Citties are well gouerned
Whereas such rebelles are not suffered to liue,
But after their desertes are iustly punished.

CORAGE. They which are rebelles it behoueth, in
deede,
That they be corrected and punished so ;
For they doe much harme in euery steede :
But I am none such, I would you should know.

AUTHORI. Thou shalt know what thou art or
hence we depart.
Faythfull-few, upon him lay holde.

CORAGE. By gis, fyr, then will I cause him to
smart :
Therefore, to touch me be not so bold.

FAYTHFULL. See where commeth Correction also.
CORRECTION *enter.*

AUTHO. Draw neare, Correction, and thine office
doe.

Take here this caytife vnto the iayle.

CORRECTI. Syr, to do your commaundement I will not fayle.

Come on, fyrre, and let vs away.

CORAGE. Nay, softe ! a while your wisdome stay. Hold me when you haue me, but you haue me not yet ;

And perchaunce ere you haue me your nose I will slit.

CORRECTI. Thinkest thou with bragges to make me afeard ?

[And beginneth to lay handes on him.]

CORAGE. You are best stand further, leaft I shaue your beard.

[They strive : he draweth his dagger and fyghteth.]

CORRECTI. In fayth, sir, now I wil giue you the check. *[And catcheth him.]*

CORAGE. Oh ! Gods passyon, wilt thou breake my neck ?

Is there no man here that hath a curst wife ?

If he will, in my stead he shall end his life.

CORRECTI. Tush, let vs hence : thy talke is in vayne.

CORAGE. Sithens there is no remedy, best is a short payne. *Exit.*

FAYTHFULL. When all malifactors are duely thus punished,

According to the good and godly lawes,

Then shall Christianity duely be burnished,
And to prayse God we shall haue cause.

AUTHOR. O! Faythfull-few, doubt not but as we
Are able Christianities estate to reforme,
So his reformation in short time thou shalt see;
For we for his estate doe lament and mourne.
Of ourselues we are not able to compasse this thing,
But by this sword of Gods power, which to vs is lent;
Wherefore, Faythfull-few, haue thou no doubting,
But we thereunto doe gladly consent.
For to Socrates saying some respect we haue,
Who sayeth a city is not to be praysed
For the greatnesse, or buildings gorgious and brave,
But for the good inhabitauntes which therein are
So we account those countreyes but ill [placed;
Which vicious persons doth mainteine and norish,
Although they haue all things at their will,
And although in treasure they aboundauntly florish.

FAYTHFULL. Oh! noble Authority, by this your
occasion,
Great tranquillity to vs shall befall.
We shalbe a ioy to ech godly nation,
When Christianity is delivered from thrall:
For better it were vnchristened to be,
Then our Christianity for to abuse.
The Jewish infidell to God doth more agree
Then such as Christianity do so misuse.

But see, yonder, where he doth appeare,
Whome abused armour doth greatly oppresse.

CHRISTIANITY *enter in as at the fyrst.*

AUTHOUR. O! Christianity, unto vs draw neare,
That we thy abused estate may redresse,
And as freely as this power vnto vs is lent,
He we now, by force of the same,
To thee, Faythfull-few, do here condiscient,
That thou Christianities estate shalt frame
In such good forme, fashon and shape,
As the same shall not be turned agayne,
But shall continue in a godly rate,
From henceforth euermore to remayne.

FAYTHFULL. God graunt that so it may be kept,
As all Christians it may become :
And for my part it shall not be slept,
But my duty shall straight way be done.

[He turneth the titles.

CHRISTIAN. Now, God be prayfed, who thus agayne
Hath restored me to my former estate,
And hath extinguished from me all payne.
God graunt that now I be not found vngrate :
And God graunt that all Christians may me duly
In such forte as Gods will it is : [imbrase,
So shall they be sure of a resting place
In Heauen, where raigneth all ioy and blisse.

FINIS.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS remarkable, and, we believe, unique tract, requires little introduction. We apprehend that it records the earliest attempt of the kind, although the adventurous Ferris and his companions had several imitators; among them Taylor the Water-poet, who did even more than his predecessors accomplished. We are to recollect that "wherries", as they were then called, were of much larger dimensions, and stronger build, than such as are now used and pass under the same name. Indeed, of late years, boats of the kind have been constructed so frail and light, that they have been almost insufficient to carry the rower, while such "wherries" as we remember on the Thames forty or fifty years ago would convey from four to eight passengers each. Nevertheless, at the period of which we here speak, the "Gravesend wherries", as they were called, were generally safe and powerful boats, rigged with a foressail and mainsail, and they not unfrequently went out into rough water. It must have been such a boat as this that Ferris, Hill, and Thomas, employed on their voyage to Bristol; which, perhaps, was hardly as dangerous as they have represented it.

The narrative is drawn up with so much simplicity, that it is very likely to have been the authorship of Ferris; but it may have been written for him, on his information, by James Sargent,

who supplied a copy of very ordinary verses at the end. These were also printed as a broadside and sold separately, however little they may have been intrinsically worth. Ritson does not mention them, but they belong to the popular literature of the period, and on that account we reprint them, and the prose relation to which they are appended.

Some misprints are, of course, to be expected, such as "third" for *first* on p. 13, l. 14; and "prepare" for *repaire* on p. 15, l. 10. On p. 16, "teen" was of old so common a word for *sorrow*, that we need hardly remark upon it.

J. P. C.

The most dangerous
and memorable aduenture of
Richard Ferris, one of the five ordinarie
Messengers of her Maiesties Chamber, who
departed from Tower Wharfe on Midsommer day
last past, with Andrew Hill and William
Thomas, who vndertooke in a small
Wherry Boate, to rowe by Sea
to the Citie of Bristowe,
and are now safely
returned.

*Wherein is particularly expressed their perils sustained in the saide
voyage, and the great entertainment they had at seuerall
places vpon the coast of England, as they went, but especially
at the said citie of Bristow.*

Published by the sayd Richard Ferris.

L O N D O N :

Printed by John Wolfe for Edward White, and are
to be sold at his shop being at the little north
doore of Pauls at the signe of the
Gunne. 1590.

TO the Right Honourable Sir Thomas *Heneage, Knight,*
one of her Maiesties Honorable priuie counsell, Vize
chamberlen to her Highnesse, and treasurer of her
Maiesties chamber, prosperous health, long life, with
much encrease of honour.

RIGHT honourable, the late dangerous attempt,
rashly by mee vndertaken, to row in asmall
boat to the citie of Bristow, a long the perillous
rocks, breaches, rafes, shelues, quicke-sandes, and
very vnlikely places for passage, wyth such small
boates, along the coast of England, is now by the
assistance of almighty God truely perfourmed, as
appeareth by our feuerall certificates ready to bee
seene, with our safe returne, contrary to the ex-
pectation of fundry persons; which being truely and
particularly discoursed, I haue presumed to dedicate
unto your honor: wherein may plainly be seene,
how wee aduentured to passe the force of dangerous
flawes and rough seas, which we found in our voy-

age : and proueth the attempte the more straunge in respect that I was neuer trayned vp on the water : not doubting but the same may be a iust occasion to pricke forward other of my natie cuntrymen to practise an ordinary passage thorough the like dangers in such smal wherry boates, especially when necessary occasion shall serue ; the better to daunt the enemies of this nation, who in such flawes and frets at sea, dare not hafard their gallies to go forth, though they be of farre greater force to brooke the seas. Thus humbly desiring your honours fauorable acceptance hereof, I end, beseeching God to send health and long life to her Maiesty, my dread Soueraigne and most gracious Miftres, peace to this land, and to your honor euen your hartes desire.

Your honors most humble

to commaund,

RICHARD FERRIS.

Richard Ferris his Trauailes to Bristowe.

AFTER that I had rashly determined to passe the seas with a wherry, and to rowe my selfe in the same to the citie of Bristow, though with the euill will of fundrie my good friendes, but especially full fore against my aged fathers consent, now dwelling in the citie of Westminster, where I was borne, I thought it conuenient to seeke out some one expert pilot to direct me and my companion by his skill, the better to passe the perilles and dangers whereof I was foretold. Wherevpon I tooke vnto me one W. Thomas, a man of sufficient skill and approued experience, by whom I was still content to be aduised, euen from my first going forth, vntill my last comming home.

The boate wherein I determined to performe my promise was new built, which I procured to be painted with greene, and the oares and sayle of the same collour, with the red crosse for England and her Maiesties armes, with a vane standing fast to the sterne of the sayd boate ; which being in full readinesse, vpon Midsummer day last, my selfe with my compa-

nions, Andrew Hill, and William Thomas, with a great many of our friends and welwillers, accompanied vs to the Tower wharfe of London; there we entered our boate, and so, with a great many of our friends in other like boates, rowed to the court at Greenewitch, where before the court gate we gaue a volley of shot: then we landed and went into the court, where we had great entertainment at euery office, and many of our friendes were full soe for our departing. And hauing obtained leaue before of the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine, the Lord Admirall, and M. vize Chamberlaine, for my departure, I tooke my leaue and so departed. Setting vp our sayles, and taking vs to our oares, wee departed toward this our doubtfull course: and first we tooke our way to Grauesende, and from thence to these places hereafter mencioned, namely:

To Margat.

To Douer.

To new Hauen in Suffex.

To Portchmouth.

To Sandwich in Dorsetshire.

To Abbots Berry.

To Lyme.

To Seaton.

To Tingmouth

To Dartmouth.

To Sancombe

To Plymmoth

To Lowe in Cornewall.

To S. Mawes in faumoth.

To the great bay at Penfans,
called Mounse bay.

To S. Iues at the further side
of the lande end.

To Gooddriuie.

To Padstowe	To Ilford Coume
To Bottricks Castle, which	To Mynnet high cliffes.
is in the race of Hartlande,	And, lastly, to the citie of
<i>alias</i> Hartry-point.	Bristowe.
To Cleuelley	

At these places before recited we stayerd and refreshed our felues; sometime we were constrained to put into these places for want of victuals, sometime for to haue their certificats to testifie of our being there: sometimes we were weather bound, and sundrie accidents worth the noting happened vnto vs in many of these places; and our welcome in all places deserueth due commendations, the particulars wherof hereafter followeth.

After we had passed Grauesend, as is aforesayd, we came to the lands end; then we bent our course to Margat, which place hauing passed, we woone the forelande with some high billowes.

From thence to the south forelande, and soone after we put in at Douer, where we stayerd about vi. houres, and where we were greatly entertayned.

From thence we tooke to the Camber nestes, which is betweene Rie and Douer, and so along the mayne sea towards fayre Lee. Thin we rowed and sayled along the coast vntill we came to Beachie, and passing by it, we harbored at new Hauen in Suffex, where we had reasonable good weather till we came

betweene the Ile of Wight and Portchmouth : there we had a great storme, and in such fort ouerpreffed with weather, that wee were conft rayned to make towardes a caſtle, called Hurſt Caſtle, from whence, at the fall of winde and tide, we put forth againe to ſea, and recouered to Sandwitch in Dorcetſhire. From thence we paſſed through a race, called S. Albons, which is a hed land, where we were in a great frett by reaſon of the race, and ſo continued hazarding our liues by meanes of that fret, to the great and daungerous race of Portland, where, by the good direction of our pilot and maſter, we fought and ſtroue by great labour to take the aduantage of the tide and weather, whereby we paſſed through it in one houre.

Here did the billowes riſe verie hie, ſo that we were in great daunger, yet, God be thanked, we eſcaped them without any damage. From thence we paſſed to Lime bay, where we ſtaied but one night, and from thence to Seaton, at which place we were compelled to carrie and liſt vp our boate on ſhoare by extremitie of foule weather, for wee were there in great danger, by reaſon of frets, ſands, and fowle weather, which greatly troubled vs.

From thence we went to Tingmoth, and ſo to Dartmoth : there we remained two daies, and had good intertainment, and great courteſie offred vs

by the inhabitants thereof. And vppon the next day morning, being Sunday, wee put to sea againe : there hauing a faire winde and tide, wee came to the Start, where the winde rose and hemde vs in round about into a verie dangerous race (this was on the fifteenth of July), where wee were in such an extremitie that we had like to haue beene drowned ; yet it pleased God so farre to worke for vs, that we escaped the danger thereof : which done, wee went to the westward of Sawcombe ; there wee were constrained to hall vppe our bote in a coue called Sower Mill, behind a rocke neare to Sir William Courtney, a verie bountiful knight, at whose house wee laie all that night, and would haue had vs to haue staide longer. But from thence, hauing faire weather, wee came to Plimmoth.

Heere wee mette with her Maiesties shippes, where maister Captaine Fenner and maister Captaine Wilkinson gaue vs great intertainement, especially for that they saw we had leaue giuen vs from the right Honourable of her Maiesties counsell for our quiet and safe passage. And for that I was her Maiesties messenger, they gaue vs the greater intertainement, and staide there one night ; from thence we went to Lowe, and there staide one night ; from thence to Sainte Mawes, with verie calme and good weather, vntil wee came to the Lizard, being a place

well known to be most dangerous and full of rockes and rafes, where, God be thanked, we passed in the currant of the tide with great swiftnes, but with wonderfull danger, where, had it not beene well looked vnto of the maister, wee had all beene cast away.

Then we did cutte ouer the Mouſe bay to Mouſe-hole, which is foure myles beyond the mount, where we were conſtrained, for want of neceſſarie victuals, to come backe againe to Pensance, where we lodged all night.

The next morning, we ſet out to goe for the landes end, where ſetting from Penſans with our halfe tide, to recouer the fiſt of the tide at the lands end, we being in our boate a great way from the ſhore, our maister deſcryed a Pyrate, hauing a veſſel of foure tunne, who made towards vs amaine, meaning doubtles to haue robbed vs, but, doubting ſuch a matter, we rowed ſo neare the ſhoare as wee might; and by that time as he was almoſt come at vs, we were neare to a rocke ſtanding in the ſea, where this Pyrate thought to haue taken vs at an aduantage: for being come cloſe to the out ſide of the faide rocke, called Raynalde ſtones, he was becalmed and could make no way, and ſo were we. But God, who neuer faileth thoſe that put their truſt in him, ſent vs a comfort vnlooked for; for as we rowed to come

about by this rocke, suddenly we espyed a plaine and verie easie way for vs to passe on the inner side of the faide rocke, where we went through very pleasantly, and by reason thereof he could not follow vs: thus we escaped safely, but he was soone after taken and brought in at Bristow. Here we found great breaches, races and rocks, the winde then being northerly and altogether against vs, which was wonderfull painefull, troublesome, and daungerous to vs: neuerthelesse (God be thanked) we escaped in safetie, and recouered to Saint Iues, where we were well entertained. The next day we put to sea againe, but being within fiue myles of Saint Iues, we were constrained to seeke for a coue, which we found, called Saint Dryney in Cornwall.

Here, for that we wanted victualles, our maister was constrained to goe climbe the great cliffe at Goodryvey, which is at the least fortie fatham hye, and wonderfull steepe, which none of vs durst venture to doe; and (God be blessed for it) he had no harme at al, but surely, to all likelyhoodes, had his foote once slipped, there could haue beene no recovery to haue faued him, but that he would haue beene brused in peeces.

At this place we staid two dayes at maister Arondalles house, where we were greatly welcome, and from thence we went to Bottricks Castell, where

dwelleth a gentleman called maister Hynder : there we were wether bound, and constrained to stay full feunteene dayes, where we had greate entertainment, he himselfe offering vs, if we would stay a whole yeare, wee should be welcome, and the rather for that I was one of her Maiesties seruants. But vpon the eighteenth day, the foule wether feasing, we did againe put to the sea through the race of Hartland, *alias* Hartpointe, which is as ill as the race of Portlande, which wee escaped, and recovered to Cleuelley, where wee were entertained by a very courteous gentleman, called maister Carey. And from thence wee came to Ilforde Coume, which was on Satterday at night, the first of August last past ; wherevpon, for that wee were so neare Bristow, I desired my company that wee might put to sea that night, which they were loth to doe, yet at my importunate sute they graunted thereto. But being at sea, the winde arose very fore from of the land, which put vs all in great feare, whereby I my selfe was constrained to row foure houres alone on the larboorde side, and my fellowe rower was compelled to lade forth water so fast as it came into the boate, which did beate vpon me, and ouer me, very fore, the winde then being east and by south. Thus I was constrained to labour for life, and yet had almost killed my selfe through the heate I tooke in that

time, rowing as is aforefaide, vntill we came to Mynette.

This done, we went from Mynytte, and so betweene the two homes came to Bristow in one tyde, and arriued at the backe of Bristow, about fixe of the clocke at night.

But it was wonderfull to see and heare what reioycing there was on all sides at our coming : the Maior of Bristow, with his bretheren the Aldermen, came to the water side, and welcomed vs most louingly, and the people came in great multitudes to see vs ; in so much as, by the consent of the Magistrates, they tooke our boate from vs, not suffering vs once to meddle with it, in respect that we were all extreame wearie, and carried our faide boate to the high crosse, in the citie : from thence it was conuaid to the towne house, there locked safe all night. And on the next morning, the people of the citie gathered them selues together, and had prepared trumpets, drummes, fyfes, and ensignes to go before the boate, which was carried vpon mens shoulders round about the citie, with the waites of the faide citie, playing orderly in honour of our rare and daungerous attempt atchiued. Afterwardes we were had to maister Maiors, to the Aldermen and Sheriffes houses, where we were feasted most royally, and spared for no cost all the time that we remained there. Thus hauing

a while refreshed our felues after our so tedious labours, we came to London on Saterdag, being the eight of August, 1590 ; where, to speake truth without diffembling, our entertainment at our coming was great and honourable, especially at the Court, and in the Cities of London and Westminster : and generally I found that the people greatly reioyced to see vs in all places.

To conclude, I haue giuen order that the faide boate shal be brought by land from Bristow to London, where the watermen and fundry other haue promised to grace the faide boate with great melodie, and fundry volleyes of shot, which very shortly is entended to be performed.

Here is to be remembred, that betweene Hartiepoint and Cleuely, the winde being verie strong, my companion and oare fellow, Andrew Hill, in taking downe our sayle, fell ouer boord into the sea ; where by great good happe, and by meanes that he helde fast to a peece of our sayle, we recouered him, and got him vp againe (although he were a verie waigh-tie man), which if we had not done, I could not haue gotten any man to haue supplied his roome : but when we sawe that he was amended, we gaue God thanks for his recouerie.

Thus to God I, with my fellow mates, giue most hartie prayers and thanks for our safe deliurrance

from so imminent daungers as we haue beene in
since our departure from the court at Greenewitch,
being still defended by the mightie and handie worke
of Almighty God, to whom we, in all obedience and
duetie, dayly pray for the prosperous health of her
Maiestie, and her honourable Councell, whose liues
and welfare is the strength and maintenance of this
land, and whom Almighty God prosper and pre-
ferue now and euer. Amen.

FINIS. RICHARD FERRIS.

A new Sonnet

Made vppon the arriual and braue entertainment of
Richard Ferris with his boat, who arriued at the Citie
of Bristowe on the third day of August, 1590.

Come, olde and young, behold and vewe,
A thing most rare is to be seene,
A feeley wherry, it is most true,
Is come to towne, with fayle of greene,
With oares cullour of the fame,
To happy Ferris worthy fame.

From London citie this wager fure,
 Was for to bring his wherry small,
 On furing feas, if life endure,
 From port to port, happe what happe shall,
 To Bristowe citie of worthie name,
 Where Ferris now hath spred his fame.

His boate not bulgd, but at high croffe,
 Was seene the third of August fure,
 Whereby the man hath had no losse;
 But did ech willing heart procure,
 For to be readie there in haste,
 To see the boate that there was plaste.

Oh! mightie Joue, thou guide of guides,
 Which brought this boat from furing feas,
 Cleane from the rage of furious tides,
 No doubt, Ferris, God thou didst please,
 Both thou and thine which were with thee,
 You ferued God, he fet you free.

Good Andrew Hill, thy paines was great,
 And William Thomas in this wherry;
 And honour Ferris fure doth get:
 He doubleffe meanes to make you merry.
 Your fame is such through trauailes toyle,
 You winne the spurre within our foyle.

Shall I preferre this to your skill ?
 No, no, 'twas God that did you guide ;
 For this be sure, without his will
 You could not passe each bitter tide.
 But pray you did, no doubt, each houre,
 Whereby God blest you by his power.

Oh ! gallant mindes and venturors bold,
 That tooke in hand a thing most rare,
 'Twill make the Spaniardes harts waxe cold,
 If that this newes to them prepare ;
 That three men hath this voyage done,
 And thereby wagers great hath wonne.

But now we may behold and vewe,
 That English heartes are not afrayde,
 Their Soueraignes foes for to subdue :
 No tempest can make vs difmayde.
 Let monstrous Papiests spit their fill,
 Their force is full against Gods will.

Hath feelly wherry done the deede,
 That gallies great dare not to trye ?
 And hath she had such happy speede,
 That now in rest on shoare she lye ?
 Doubtlesse the Lord her Pylot was,
 It could not else beene brought to passe.

Well, Ferris, now the game is thine,
 No losse thou haft, thanke him aboue ;
 From thy two mates doe not decline,
 But still in heart doe thou them loue.

So fhall thy store increafe, no doubt,
 Through him that brought thy boat about.

I end with prayers to the Lord,
 To faue and keepe our royall Queene ;
 Let all true hearts with one accord
 Say, Lord preferue her grace from teene :
 Bleffe, Lord, her friendes, confound her foes,
 For aye, Lord, faue our Royall Rose !

JAMES SARGENT.

FINIS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following reprints are made from the original Broad-sides in the editor's possession, and he knows of no other copies of them. The number of speeches and songs might have been increased from printed volumes of the time, published by Thomas Jordan, particularly from his "Royal Arbor of Loyal Poesie" (of which only two copies remain to us), but the editor wished to confine himself entirely to productions that had not been issued in a collected form.

Of course, it is needless to say anything of the historical event to which the documents relate; but the editor wishes to add here a note, from what he believes to be a unique tract, (now being reprinted for the use of his friends) regarding "Fisher's Folly", at which at least one of the speeches was delivered. The accounts hitherto printed of Fisher's Folly are deficient in several particulars furnished from this source. In the tract to which we refer, Fisher's Folly is thus spoken of by a Citizen, in conversation with a stranger to the metropolis:—"It is a verie faire house indeede, large and beautifull, incompast with many walkes and gardens of pleasure, builded by one Jasper Fisher, free of the Goldsmiths, late one of the sixe Clarkes of the Chancerie, and a Justice of Peace: it hath since, for a time, beene the

Earle of Oxford's place : our late Queene hath lodged there, and now it belongeth to Sir William Cornwallis. * * * This house, being so large and sumptuously builded by a man of no greater calling, was mockingly named *Fisher's Folly*; and a rime hath been lately made of it, and others the like (not farre off builded), in this manner :

“ ‘ Kirkbye's Castle and Fisher's Folly,
Spynyla's Pleasure and Megses glorie.’ ”

For “ Spynyla's ” we ought probably to read *Spinola's* : respecting “ Kirkbyes Castle ” and “ Megses glorie,” the tract in question affords no information. “ *The Pleasant Walks of Moore-fields,* ” &c., by Richard Johnson, 1607, 4to.

It is somewhat lamentable that the writers of the period could produce no better specimens of verse than are found on the following pages ; but puritanism had then as nearly extinguished poetry, as loyalty afterwards nearly destroyed morality.

For convenience in reprinting these Broad-sides, we have placed several marginal notes at the bottom of the page. In one instance, it will be seen that, two very different pieces are said to have been “ sung ” to the same tune.

J. P. C.

Broadsides

OF

SPEECHES, SONGS, ETC.

DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF

General Monck,

CHIEFLY

IN THE HALLS OF PUBLIC COMPANIES

OF LONDON,

JUST ANTERIOR TO THE RESTORATION.

LONDON :

PRIVATELY PRINTED.

1863.



A
S P E E C H

MADE TO THE

LORD GENERAL MONCK

At Clotheworkers Hall in London, the 13 of March
1659, at which time he was there entertained
by that worthie Companie.

NAY then, let me come too with my Addresse.
Why mayn't a Rustick promise, or professe
His good affection t'you? Why not declare
His wants, how many and how great they are?
And how you may supply them? Since you may
See our hearts mourn, although our clothes be *gray*.

Great Hero of three Nations! whose blood springs
From pious and from powerfull Grandfire Kings;
With whose Blood-Royal you've enrich'd your veins,
And by continued policy and pains
Have equall'd all their glory; so that now
Three kingless scepters to your feet do bow,
And court protection and alliance too,
And what great men still reach'd at stoups to you.

But you're too truly noble to aspire
By fraud or force to greatness; or t'acquire

Scepters and Crowns by robbery, or bafe
And wilfull breach of trufts and oaths ; nor place
Your happinefs on ravifhed dominion,
Whofe glory's only founded on opinion ;
Attended ftill with danger, fear and doubt,
And fears *within*, worfe than all thofe *without* :
You muft ftill watch and fear, and think, and muft
Lofe all content to gratifie one luft,
Should you invade the Throne, or aym at pelf,
Throw down three Nations to fet up your felf.
Kings are but royal flaves, and prifoners too,
They alwaies toyl, and alwaies guarded go.

You are for making Princes ; and can find
No work proportion'd to your pow'r and mind,
But Atlas-like to bear the World, and be
The great Reftorer of the liberty
Of three long-captiv'd kingdoms, who were thrown
By others ftiong delufions, and their own
Mifguided zeal, to do and fuffer what
Their very fouls now grieve and tremble at :
Debauch'd by thofe they thought would teach and
rule 'um,
Who now they find did ruine and befool 'um.
Our meanings ftill were honeft ; for alas !
We never dream'd of what's fince come to pafs.
'Twas never our intent to violate
The fetled Orders of the Church and State,

To throw down Rulers from their lawfull feat,
Merely to make ambitious small things great,
Or to subvert the Laws ; but we thought then
The Laws were good, if manag'd by good men :
And so we do think still, and find it true ;
Old Laws did more good, and less harm than New ;
And 'twas the plague of countries and of Cities,
When that great-belly'd House did spawn Com-
mittees.

We fought not for Religion, for 'tis known,
Poor men have little, and some great ones none.
Those few that love it truly do well know
None can take't from us, where we will or no.
Nor did we fight for Laws, nor had we need,
For if we had but gold enough to feed
Our taking Lawyers, we had laws enough,
Without addressing to the Sword or Buff.
Nor yet for Liberties ; for those are things
Have cost us more in *Keepers*, than in Kings.
Nor yet for Peace, for if we had done so,
The Souldiers would have beat us long ago.
Yet we did fight, and now we see for what ;
To shuffle mens estates : those owners that
Before these wars could call estates their own,
Are beaten out by others that had none.
Both Law and Gospel, overthrown together,
By those who ne're believ'd in, or lov'd either.

Our truth, our trade, our peace, our wealth, our
freedom,
And our full Parliaments that did get and breed 'um,
Are all devour'd, and by a Monster fell,
Whom none but you could fatisfie and quell.
You're great, you're good, you're valiant and you're
wife ;
You haue Briarius hands, and Argus eyes ;
You are our English Champion ; you're the true
St. George for England, and for Scotland too.
And though his storie's question'd much by some,
Where true or false, this Age, and those to come,
Shall for the future find it so far true,
That all was but a prophecy of you ;
And all his great and high atchievements be
Explain'd by you in this Mythologie. .

Herein you've far out done him : he did fight
But with one fingle Dragon ; but by your might
A legion have been tam'd, and made to serve
The people, whom they meant t'undo and starve.
In this you may do higher, and make fame
Immortalize your celebrated name,
This ages glory, wonder of all after,
If you would free the *Son*, as he the Daughter.

FINIS.

[No author's, and no printer's name.]

A S P E E C H

Made to his Excellency the
LORD GENERAL MONCK,
and the Councill of State, at Drapers Hall in London,
the 28 of March 1660.
At which time they were entertained by that
honourable Company.

Most honoured Sir, if a poore Schollar may
(Amongst the rest) his duteous offering pay,
Accept my might unto your merit, you
That have given life to us, and learning to.
How had the Churches glory laine in th' duft,
A sacrifice to the Phanatiques lust,
The Virgin had been rifled, and our Lawes
Become a prey unto the monstrous jawes
Of Wolves and Vermin, had not you stept in
Unto their rescue : nay, the Citty bin
A Shambles made ! You have redeem'd our States,
As though y'ad sat in councill with the Fates,
And by your casting voyce diverted our
Intended ruine. Thus you shew'd your power,
And love unto your Country ; and so mixt,
It carries Settlement our hopes are fixt.
Ambition, that did gangrinate the State,

Like a false starr's falln from its usurpt height.
The spirit of Division is now laid,
The Genius of three Nations in one made :
You have re-king'd our happyneffe in these
Most reverend Patriots, branches of our peace ;
These luminaries, that through envious night,
In th'absence of our Sun, affourd us light ;
Whose pious care and courage ever wakes
More for our safety, then for their owne fakes,
That prize a publick more then private good,
And swam not to a government through blood :
So clear in all their wayes, that if they might,
They will not take away anothers right ;
That if the Proverb hold (although but plain)
'Tis like the Man may have his Mare again ;
To you and them with reverence I proclaime
A hearty welcome in the Companies name,
Th' expression of whose joyes transported me
Into these truths wrapt up in Poetry.
Goe on, brave Senators : may your Union prove
A subject to the World of peace and love !

Spoken by WALTER YEOKNEY.

*The Reader may take notice that the other Speech is
a forged cheat, and disowned by Walter Yeokney.*

A D I A L O G U E

BETWIXT TOM and DICK, the former a Countryman, the other a Citizen. Presented to his Excellency, and the Council of State, at Drapers Hall in London, March 28, 1660.

(To the tune of *I'le never love thee more.*)

Tom. Now would I give my life to see
 This wondrous Man of might.
 Dick. Dost see that jolly Lad ? That's he,
 I'le warrant him, he's right.
 Theres a *true Trojan* in his face ;
 Observe him o're and o're.
 Come, Tom ; if ever George be base, } *Chorus.*
 Ne're trust good-fellow more.

He's none of that Phanatique Brood,
 That murther while they pray ;
 That truffe and cheat us for our good
 (All in a godly way).
 He drinkes no bloud, and they no sack
 Into their gutts will poure ;
 But if George does not do the knack, } *Chor.*
 Ne're trust good-fellow more.

His quiet conscience needs no guard ;
He's brave but full of pitty.

Tom. Yet, by your leave, he knock'd so hard
H'ad like t'awak'd the Citty.

Dick. Foole ! twas the Rump that let a fart,
The chaynes and gates it tore ;
But if George beares not a true heart, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good-fellow more.

Tom. The City-blades are cunning Rookes ;
How rarely you *collogue* him !
But when your gates flew off the hookes,
You did as much *be-rogue* him.

Dick. Pugh !—'Twas the Rump did onely feele
The blowes the City bore ;
But if George be'nt as true as steele, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good fellow more.

Come, by this hand, we'll crack a quart ;
Thou'll pledge his health, I trow.

Tom. Tope, boy ! *Dick.* A lusty dish, my heart !
Away w'ot ! *Tom.* Let it go.

Drench me, you slave, in a full bowle :
I'll take it, an' 'twere a score.

Dick. Nay, if George be'nt a hearty soule, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good-fellow more.

Tom. But heark you, Sirrah, we're to loud ;
 He'll hang us by and by.
 Methinks he should be vengeance proud.

Dick. No more then thee or I.

Tom. Why then, I'll give him the best blade,
 That ere the *Bilbo* wore.

Dick. If George be not a bonny lad, }
 Ne're trust good-fellow more. } *Chor.*

Tom. 'Twas well he came ; we'd mawll'd the Tayle ;
 We've all throwne up our farmes,
 And from the musket to the flayle,
 Put all our men in armes.
 The girles had ta'ne the members down,
 Nere saw fuch things before !

Dick. If George speak not the Town our owne, }
 Ne're trust good-fellow more. } *Chor.*

But, prethee, are the folke so mad ?

Tom. So mad, sayst ? The're undone :
 There's not a penny to be had,
 And every mothers sonne
 Must fight if he intend to eate,
 Grow valliant now he is poore

Dick. Come—yet if George don't do the feate, }
 Nere trust good-fellow more. } *Chor.*

Tom. Why, Richard, 'tis a devilish thing,
 We're not left worth a groate :
 My Doll has fold her wedding ring,
 And Su has pawnd her coate.
 The fniv'ling rogues abus'd our squire,
 And call'd our mistrefs whore.

Dick. Yet—if George don't what we desire, } *Chor.*
Nè're trust good-fellow more.

Tom. By this good day, I did but speak,
 They tooke my py-bald mare,
 And put the carrion wench to th' squeak :
 (Things go against the hair)
 Our prick-ear'd Cor'nell looks as bigg
 Still, as he did before.

Dick. And yet if George don't humme his gigg, } *Cho.*
Nere trust good-fellow more.

Faith, Tom, our case is much at one,
 We're broke for want of trade :
 Our City's baffled and undone
 Betwixt the Rump and Blade.
 We've emptied both our veines and baggs
 Upon a factious score :

If George compassion not our raggs, } *Chor.*
Nere trust good-fellow more.

Tom. But what doest think should be the cause,
Whence all these mischiefs spring?

Dick. Our damned breach of Oaths and Lawes,
Our murther of the King.
We have bin Slaves since Charles his reign ;
We liv'd like Lords before :
If George don't set all right again, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good-fellow more.

Tom. Our Vicar (and hee's one that knows)
Told me once—I know what—
(And yet the thief is woundy close)

Dick. 'Tis all the better—that.
H'as too much honesty and witt
To let his tongue runne o're :
If this prove not a lucky hitt, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good fellow more.

Shall's ask what he means to doe ?

Tom. Good faith, with all my heart :
Thou mak'st the better leg o' th' two ;
Take thou the better part.
I'll follow, if thou't leade the van.

Dick. Content—I'll march before.
If George prove not a gallant man, } *Chor.*
Ne're trust good fellow more.

My Lord, in us the Nation craves

But what you're bound to do.

Tom. We have liv'd drudges. *Dick.* And we slaves.

Both. We would not die fo too.

<i>Restore us but our Lawes agen,</i>	} <i>Chorus.</i>
<i>Th' unborn shall thee adore :</i>	
<i>If George denies us his Amen,</i>	
<i>Nere trust good fellow more.</i>	

[No name of Author nor Printer.]

[N.B. There are two editions of this Dialogue : the only differences are of spelling, excepting that in one *Phantasques*, of the second stanza, is properly made *Phanatiques*. For this error the broadside may have been reprinted.]

A Song to his Excellency the Lord

GENERAL MONCK

at Skinners-Hall on Wednesday April 4, 1660.

At which time he was entertained by that honourable
Company.

To the tune of *I'll never leave thee more.*

Admire not, noble Sir, that you should heare
Beasts eccho out your acclamations here,

And those whom nature had tonguety'd should breake
Ther filent Chaines your fulmouth'd praise to speake.
It is no wonder, Sir, since that to you
The admiration of a greater's due,
Whilst by your hands have curb'd the furious rage
Of steele, and have restor'd our golden age.
This Brittish Isle, by nature fram'd to be
Of the great World the grand epitome,
Whom Neptune circling in his briny armes
Hath made secure from forreigne foes alarmes,
And Providence so seated that she seemes
By her to prise all other Diadems :
And yet she thus freed from forraigne warres
Rent her owne bowels with intestine jarres ;
And when so force of supercilious Spaine,
Nor power of furious France could from her gaine
Hir wealth and honour, she of both bereaves
Hir selfe, and gives them to the basest slaves.
He whose brave Heroes in the dayes of yore
Could beat down others Sceptors, or restore
Them at her will, now did her own betray,
And to her selfe her selfe did make a prey.
Oh, foolish Nation ! whilst thou fought to bring
Subjection to thee from thy Sovereigne King,
Forgets in bodies ruine must be red,
When Members rebels turn against the head.
A people who turn Traytors to their King

Must needs themselves into destruction bring :
Most desperate is their case, nor can I rate
The mischiefs which succeed a headlesse State.
This you have prov'd, and now you sadly see
Rebellion recompenc'd with miserie.

But ile be silent here, and will no more
Thus smartly rub yon raw and galled fore,
Since here you came not to lament, or make
A Fast, but feast for your Redemptions sake.
And 'twas to you, great Sir, they did intend,
And to your praise I should my speeches bend.
And think not, Sir, that your renowned name
Receives detraction on the rols of fame
By being fung by me ; for though that here
My guards and followers do not appeare
To shew my greatnesse, yet at my command
The Forrests bow and as my Subjects stand :
And though I boast my selfe a mighty King,
My greatest honour is your praise to sing.
Let Rome no more her Fabius shew or boast,
His moderate prudence sav'd her being lost,
Since you have justly bragge your wife delaies
Have sav'd a Nation, crown'd your selfe with Baies.
Had you been furious, and have cast the dye
Of war, we now might all in ashes lye,
Triumph'd on by our foes, when now we see
England restored to its Liberty

By this your prudence : nothing now remains
But that you recompence our other paines,
And crown your merits, whilst you and our strife
By giving Head as well as Body life.
The Members you have joyn'd, yet they're but dead
Whilst thus they stand diffever'd from the Head.
Procyed then, George, and as thou hast brought down
The Traytors, so restore the lawfull Crown,
That after ages may thee justly call
Restorer of thy Country, King, and all.

*The Reader may take notice that this is the right
speech, sung by W. Yeokney.*

London : Printed for William Anderfon, in the
Year 1660.

[N.B. This speech, miscalled "a song," is wretchedly printed in the extreme haste of publication : p. 13, l. 5, "Whilst" should be *Who* ; p. 14, l. 22, "Since you have" ought to be "Since you *may*" ; p. 15, l. 3, "and" ought to be *end*, &c. If it were *sung*, it is clear that it could not be to the same tune as the preceding Dialogue ; yet *I'll never love thee more* was the same as *I'll never leave thee more*.]

A

S P E E C H

Made to his Excellency the Lord
General MONCK,

At the Council of State at Goldsmiths Hall
in London,

The tenth day of April 1660, at which time they were
entertained by that honourable Company.

*After a Song in four parts, at the conclusion of a
Chorus, enter a SEA-CAPTAIN.*

Let us make one too : are you grown so stout
To contrive Peace, and leave the Seaman out ?
Have you in those large Bowls, which Plenty gave
ye,

Drank off the Ocean, and swallow'd the Navy ?
You never think upon our rocks and shelves,
So you may snudge in quiet by your felves.
Are you not Britains ? Is not Navigation
The only guard and glory of the Nation ?
Can you have treasure brought without a Fleet ?
What is it gilds Cheapside and Lombard street,
But our sea trade ? By our cutting the curl'd
Ocean ye hold commerce with all the World.

Whence come your costly carpettings and works
That grace the chambers of triumphant Turks,
But from beyond-sea? And wise men of trust
Beleeve, if ever we have peace agen, it must
Come from beyond-sea; and d'ye goe about
To make a peace, and leave the Main-mast out?

But wheres my Admiral? Oh! I have spy'd him:
His merits are so clear no clouds can hide him.
I must go droll with him though: *What Chear, hey?*
Up to the ears in Custard? heres a fray
Compounded without bloudshed: these would be
Good bitts upon a march, George; or at sea,
When in the fury of tempestuous weather,
Wee and our meat were pickled up together:
Here are pure Quarters! Plenty keeps her spring
In London: 'tis a City for a King!

I came just now ashore to speak with you,
Directly up to Goldsmiths Hall, I knew
Where I should find you out. You love to fettle
With honest hearts, and men of the best mettle.
They love St. George, and yet they highly set
A value on St. Dunstan:* they'r well met:
They both did put the Devil in a dump:
One had him by the Nose; tother the *Rump*;
And therby hangs a tayl. When I came hither,

* St. Dunstan was a patron of the Goldsmiths.

My bufinefs and my boldneffe, mixt together,
 Made me thruft in. Where crowd you? (cry'd they
 Quoth I, to fpeak with my Lord General : [all)
 I'm one of his Sea Captains : prefently
 The Mafter and the generous Company
 All bad we welcom, and did ftrongly woo
 Me to bid you fo, and this Council* too.
 In thefe, or fuch like words, they bad me fay
 The Sunn's not welcomer to a dark day
 Than you unto this City ; for you are
 Temp'rate in Undertakings, ftout in Warr,
 Prudent in Councils, quick when dangers call,
 Secret in great defigns, honeft in all.
 'Twould make the greateft Rebell quite renounce ill
 To fee but fuch a Souldier, fuch a Council !

God prosper both ! and may you never ceafe
 Till you have brought home the bright Princeffe, Peace,
 That long-loft Lady. Could we make a crown
 As rich as that was worn by Solomon,
 Rather than we would lofe her, or difpleafe her,
 (I mean fair Peace) wee'd give that Crown to feize her.

*If any other Speech be printed, pretended to be
 fpoken in Goldfmiths Hall, they are Counterfeits, and
 none true but this.*

THO. JORDAN.

London, Printed for H. B. at the Gun in Ivy-lane,
 1660.

A

S P E E C H

Made to his Excellency

GEORGE MONCK, General, &c.

The Twelfth day of Aprill, M.DCLX,

At a Solemn Entertainment at Vintners-Hal,
Wherein his illustrious Virtues are shaddowed forth
under the Emblem of a *Vine*.

Welcome (great Sir) thrice welcome to this Hall!
We 've nothing else to welcome you withall;
All else is but your own : to You we owe
Life, Liberties, Estates, Religion too.
All else is in your power, only our hearts
Are free to welcome and admire your Arts.
Time was when we were forc't to court our chains,
And kisse the rod that jerk't us, for our pains :
We durst not cry for fear of t'other lash,
But smooth'd our browes, and blubber'd faces washt.
Our Lurdan masters made us them reward
For keeping of our Liberties in ward.

But unto You our hearts aspire to fall
A willing sacrifice this festivall :
Nor think it (Sir) a hollow complement ;

We deal in Wine, *Wine only truth doth vent.*
Now, give us leave to borrow from our trade
Something which may your radiant virtues shade :
And what may better suit you than the Vine,
That noble plant, which does such worth enshrine ?
First in its leaves, which hide and guard the cluster,
It notes your modesty, which hides your lustre :
It shews your secrecy, by which secur'd,
You have a bloudless Victory procur'd.
O happy soul ! whose silence could do more
Then Arts and Armes, then Retorick and Power.
You have three nations redeem'd, and yet
Not spilt one drop of blood in doing it.
You gently did the strength of weapons steal
Out of their hands before they could it feel.
Let Rome and Tully boast ; let Athens blest
Demostenes, and thundring Pericles,
*Give me the man who works without a noise,
Who spares his tongue and hands, but wit em-
ploys.*

Again, the Vines not spent in leaves and paint,
But under its own fruitful load doth faint ;
That load which lightens men of all their cares,
And fainting spirits with new life repairs.
Thus You (my Lord) opprest your self with pains
To bring forth unto us more easy gains.

Under your watchful eyes we sleep fecure,
Under your armes our commerce we enfore.
Peace, Freedom, Laws (both humane and divine)
Are the delicious fruits of You, our Vine.
Thefe are your firft-fruits, and they taft fo fweet,
We long for thofe which hang not ripened yet :
Theres fomething ftill remains to crown the reft,
To bind all faft, and make us firmly bleft.
Some are already drunk with what they taft,
And in a drunken fit quarrel for haft.
We wreftle yet with jealousies and threats :
The time muft ripen all with kindly heats.
There are Phanatiques that on both fides rage,
'Till by your art you coop 'em in one cage ;
And while you check religious lunacies,
Reftrein likewife prophaner luxuries.

Secure all ftakes ; all sober men engage :

This will embalme your Name to future age.

And as the Vine adorns its prop, and fpreads,
And twifts the branches of the tree it weds,
So do your virtues fpread about thefe Lands,
Which you espoufe and link them all in bands
Of facred wedlock : all men do combine
In You, and mingled interefts intwine :
You moderate, You hush and filence all
Our jangling factions and confused brawle.

*Bind all unto Your self, and each to other ;
Let none engrosse You, be a common Brother.*

The Vine (as in the Parable we read)
Refus'd to domineer with lofty head :
Though Brambles may in lordly rule delight
To scratch and tear, and rend down all by might,
The humble Vine seeks no such rampant tops,
But lowly creeps unless advanc't by props.
Thus You aspire not unto gay dominion,
Whose happiness is meerly in opinion.
It is presum'd you'd rather *make a King*
Then your own hands to sway the Scepter bring :
This will immortalize and blaze your story,
And crown your head with sp[1]endant beams of glory.

*If any other Speech be printed, pretended to be
spoken in Vinteners-Hall, they are counterfeits, and
none true but this:*

THO. JORDAN.

[N.B. It will be seen from what follows that a very ill-written "panegyric" upon Monk was printed with fame date; but we may doubt whether it was spoken like that above given. Jordan may himself have orally pronounced what he wrote, and it is to be borne in mind, that he had at one time been an actor.]

FAMES GENIUS.

OR A

P A N E G Y R I C K

upon his Excellency, the

L O R D G E N E R A L M O N C K.

At Vintners Hall, Thurfday, the 12th April, 1660.

Amongst the reft the Mufes gave confent
That I this worthleffe form might now prefent
To the Worlds view : The fubject feems too high
To be compriz'd in an Epitomy :
Confest indeed ; but I have ftraind my Quill,
Dy'd in the fable wave, to'ts utmoft skill,
And in Enchiridion fpread his fame,
Whofe merits floats, whilst others fink with fhame :
Not to unmantle felf and fubtilty,
But the true Portraicture of honefty.
(Monck 'tis I mean) at a far eafier rate
Then blood-fhed, purchas'd freedom in our State
When as the Nation groand, torturd with pain
Of a confufion fteep within her Brain.
What fad diftempers did fhe undergo !
Lull'd up and down by Herefy, toft to and fro
By frantick Policy, self-intereft, and what Art,

Not to abate, but to augment her smart !
Some Empericks did pretend to give her ease
In this her giddy languishing disease,
But through mistaken apprehension us'd
Applied wrong remedies, and were confus'd.
Then, others thought to take the State in hand ;
Finding their purpose fail, were at a stand.
The rest of this wife Consultation
Concluded ruine for an application :
Thus thrown from hand to hand, her Lethargy
Was almost grown to a disparity.
A Lethargy, indeed, censured to be
By so long sleeping in her misery.
At last awak'd, and when awak'd she cry'd
Liberty, smother'd for want of Liberty, but deny'd,
Deem'd as an unfit salve, yet in fine prov'd
To be the self-same thing as it behov'd.
Then, from the North that great Adjutator came,
Whose approbation gave him the best name ;
Within whose breast contracted seem'd to be
Valour with Wisdom and honest Policy :
These three united were the means that wrought
Our Nation's cure which so long we fought.
Mars* himself yielded, and not usually
Restrain'd his arms from wonted cruelty :

* Pax sine Bello.

His angry brow seem'd vayld with modesty
When thus perceiving (Monck) his prudency.
Now the scene's alterd, the Oppressor's gone,
Each Actor strives to quit his action :
Twas but a Dream when they playd aym at all,
To fore too high is but to have a fall.
To themselves sophisters, our discontent
Recoyle[s] again : Heaven relief hath sent :
Now the black clouds withdrawn, the bloody Vaile
Is rent in funder by a Northern gale :
The gloomy night is past ! Awake ! behold
Aurora does her Majesty unfold.
The rav'nous Lyon, dreading the sight of fire,
Couches, or usual dos to his den retire.
So when this blazing Comet did appear
Our prey-seekers were posselt with fear,
Affrighted with their own conscience, terrified
With its black dismal aspect, flunke aside.
Why may not exild Justice transport make
Now to its mansion, and possession take ?
Rise from dispair ! here is our hope arriv'd ;
Brave George 's at hand, and bids us be reviv'd.

Englands content, persist, thy work begun,
Gives more then much ease to the Nation :
Proceed, great General : Honour is thine own

In doing what thou haft already done :
 But if thy inclination points to more,
 As feldom Heroes reft, on fuch a fcore,
 Twere not amifs, but meet to contrive
 Thy fainting Patient, a reftorative
 To what affection bends, as commonly
 We find moft fovereign is fympathy,
 And as experience approves, the beft thing,
 Does beft agree, call'd by the name of KING.

C. SOUTHAICK.

Carmina quam fcribunt fama perennitent.

London, Printed for J. Jones, and are to be fold at
 the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1660.

[N.B. It does not appear that this very inferior performance was actually pronounced before Monck at Vintners' Hall. The author himfelf calls it "a worthless form," and adds, nevertheless, that "the Mufes gave confent" that it fhould be prefented "to the world's view." It may be doubted whether they condefcended to interfere in the matter. Southaick was probably as unknown to the Mufes in his day, as he is to the world at large in ours.]

A S P E E C H

Made to his Excellency the
L O R D G E N E R A L M O N C K,
and the Council of State,
At Fishmongers-Hall in London, the thirteenth
of April, 1660,
*At which time they were entertained by that
Honorable Company.*

Written by THO. JORDAN.

After a Song of difference betwixt the *Lawyer*, the
Soldier, the *Citizen* and the *Countrey-man*. The
Chorus being ended, enter the Ghost of Maffia-
nello, Fisher-man of Naples.

Is your Peace just? What rock stands it upon?
Conscience and Law make the best Union.
If you gain Birthrights here by bloud and slaughter,
Though you sing now, you'll howle for ever after.
Trust my experience, one that can unfold
The strangest truest Tale that er'e was told:
In my degree few men shall overtake me;
I was as great as Wickedness could make me:
This heart, this habit, and this tongue to boot,
Commanded forty thousand Horse and Foot.
In three weeks time my fortune grew so high

I could have match'd my Fisher's family
With the best blood in Naples. Right and wrong,
And life and death attended on my tongue,
Till (by a quick verticite of Fate)
I find too soon what I repent too late,
And though a Rebell in a righteous clothing,
My glow-worm glories glimmerd into nothing.

Thus fell that Fisher-man that had no fellow :
I am the wandering shade of Maffianello,
Who since I was into perdition hurl'd,
Am come to preach this doctrine to the world.

*Rebels, though backt with power and seeming Reason,
Time and Success, shall feel the fate of Treason.*

But stay ! What Picture's this hangs in my sight ?*
Tis valiant Walworth, the King-saving Knight,
That stabd Jack Straw. Had Walworth liv'd within
These four months, where had Jack the Cobler been ?
It was a bold brave deed, an act in season,
Whilest he was on the top-branch of his Treason.

But from that Shaddow dropping down my eye,
I see a Substance of like Loyalty.†

* He looketh up to the Picture of Sir William Walworth (who stab'd Jack Straw) that hangeth over the head of my Lord General.

† To the Lord General.

If long renowned Walworth had the fate
To save a King, You have to save a state ;
And who knows what by consequence ? The Knight
By that brave deed gain'd every man his right ;
And you by this may gain each man his due,
Not onely trusty hearts, but Traitors too.
He drew blood ; you did not : 'tis all one sense,
There's but a *Straws* breadth in the difference.
He sav'd the Town from being burnt, and You
Have rescued it from fire and plunder too.
He was this Companies good benefactor,
And you have been their Liberties Protector :
For which, I heard them say, they would engage
Their states, their blouds and lives, against all rage
That shall oppose your just designs ; and that
You are the welcom't Guest ever came at
This table : they say, All they can exhibit
Is not so much a treatment as a tribute :
They call you the first step to Englands blifs,
The true fore-runner of our Happiness.

And joyn'd with these great Councillors, who are
Our best preservatives in Peace and War,
You have a loyal heart, a lucky hand,
Elected for the cure of this sick Land,
Who by Protectors and unjust Trustees
Hath been enslav'd, and brought upon her knees.

We humbly pray this may be thought upon

Before the Kingdoms Treafure be quite gone,
And hope you will (though Envy look a fquint),
When all is fit, put a juft fteward in 't.

Spoken by WALTER YOUKENEY.

Chorus.

Then may your fame out-live all Story,
And prove a Monument of Glory :
Kings and Queens (as tribute due)
On their knees fhall pray for you.
Whilst all true hearts confefs with tongue and pen,
A Loyal Subject is the beft of men.

London, Printed by W. Godbid over againft the
Anchor Inn in Little Britain. 1660.

[N.B. Muſic ſeems to have commenced and ended
this performance, the ſpeech having been delivered
in the interval by Youkeney, Yeokney, or Yockney
(as the name was variously fpelt), and not by Jordan,
the author of it.]

THE
E N T E R T A I N M E N T
of the
L A D Y M O N K

at Fifhers-Folly :

Together with an Addresse made to her by a
Member of the Colledge of Bedlam at her
visiting those Phanatiques.

The Bedlams Speech.

Topfie tervie, hai down derry !
You sober boyes lets now be merry ;
Here comes the noble George's Wife :
Let's then bespeak her to the life.

Most noble Lady, now we see
The World turns round as well as we :
Our chains are ornaments, our cells
Are Palaces where Honour dwells :
Whilst you adorn this place, we know
No greater happineffe below,
Than to behold the sweet delight
Of him that will restore our right.
Madam, to you it is we look,

As the best Scripture in our Book.
Could we but learn to be so wise
As love our Head as well as Eyes,
Our University might be
Happy in your felicity ;
Our chains as uselesse as the large
Contents of Lamberts no-discharge :
Our time not spent in picking straws,
Our holds only most wholesome laws.
Our Bedlam true Phanatiques keep,
Not such as dream when fast asleep.
Let George know we are not so mad,
But we can love an honest Lad.

The Speech at Fishers-Folly.

Thrice welcome, noble Lady, to this place,
Wife to a person sprung of royall race,
Whose high-born Soul proclaimes him one of those
Which clame an interest in the Milkie Rose ;
Upon whose brow prudence and valour try
Mastries, and strive each other to outvie :
And, what's his greatest praise, his Royalty
Appears full fraught with ancient loyalty.
The rarest jewels that the world imparts
Are royal subjects crown'd with loyal hearts.
And such (sweet Lady) is your royall Spouse,
Who cannot choose but mind his former vows.

One that is verſt in honeſt politics,
And deeply hateth ſuch pedantick tricks
As Murder, Rapine, Perjury, which crimes
Were in vile Cromwels and the Rumpers times
Accounted godlineſs, and in wrong ſenſe
Stil'd acts of Heavens gracious Providence :
But now (I hope) we ſhall be freed from th' Spell
And witching Charms o' th' Devill and Machiavel.
They muſt invent new fleights, a cloak that's ſtronger,
Religion will vayne vilany no longer :
All men have now found their falſe knavery out,
But noble George hath put them to the rout.
As Fabius weary'd Hanibal, he fo
Blaſted their force, yet gave them never a blow :
Wonderfull Conqueror, that could withſtand,
Nay, foyle his Enemy without a hand !
Never had England a more proſperous fate,
Nor purchaſt freedom at a cheaper rate !
Who abſent, lo ! we pay all honour due
To her who is a part of him—that's you ;
Even you (fair Lady) who are ever bleſt
In his enjoymēt. Y'are a welcome gueſt
Unto our Board, whoſe preſence makes us jolly,
Since you vouchſafe to come to Fiſhers Folly ;
So called from the founder, a Lackwit,
Who built the Houſe, but could not finiſh it.
Our George a greater work hath well begun,

And scorns to leave it, till it's throughly done.
He gently does his bufineffe, and hath learn'd
To move the wheele, so that it's not discern'd;
And with a filent calmneffe doth affwage
The Hot-fpur fpirits, and the fiery rage
Of fierce Phanatiques, who, like foolish Elves,
By their mad zeal would have burnt up themselves.
Thus hath he wifely ftopt the mouths of those
Builders of Babel, which did ftill oppofe
Th' repaying of our Sion; to whose ayd
Wee'l all ftand up untill the top-ftones layd;
And after all confeffe great George to be
The chief Reftorer of our Liberty;
And you, thrice happy favourite of fate,
Who have fo wife, fo great, fo good a Mate!

*If any other Speeches fhall be pretended to be fpoken
before the Lady Monk at Fishers Folly, they are false
and difowned by W. Y. Printed 1660.*

[N.B. W. Y. probably means Walter Yeokney.
"Fisher's Folly," in Bishopsgate, was fo called from
Fisher, the builder of it, who left it unfinished for
want of funds. See Stow's *Survey*, 1598, p. 350, &c.]

A P A N E G Y R I C K

To his Excellency

THE LORD GENERAL MONCK.

By RICHARD FARRAR, Esq.

England's St. George, who did the Virgin free
From Dragons jaws, was but a Type of Thee !
You (Noble George) that Saint surpaffes farr ;
Monck's name alone hath quenched our flaming Warr.
He but one Dragon flew, one Virgin freed,
But thou three Kingdoms haft redeemed, (blest deed !)
Redeem'd from numerous Dragons' tearing paws,
Who kill'd our King, and trampled on our Laws :
Monsters of monsters ! (O most strange defeat !)
And yet thou did'st not either fight or treat ;
And this fo calmly, with fuch silence too,
And fo much speed ! Thou did'st Thy Self out-do.
The King is fo oblig'd, Himself doth owne,
'Tis by thy conduct Hee afcends the Throne ;
And our Three Nations all, all jointly, do
Court thee by Statues, and adore Heaven too.
Three Kingdoms Th' haft united (a new way !)
The King Hee thanks Thee, and the People pay

To thee a fecond duty : Happy they
 To whom Three Nations unconstrain'd [obey]
 What powerfull charms, in sweeteft [union all,
 Surround thy Soul, Virtues great Prodi[gall !]
 Thy valour hath been try'd by Sea [and land,
 And thou beft know'ft on either [how to ftand.]
 So worthily Thou haft thy felf beh[avd]
 Love in the hearts of both fides is in[flav'd.]
 Well may our Ifland boast to have [by birth]
 A man fo modeft, of fuch mighty W[orth.]
 Succeeding times fhall wonder at the [fame]
 We juftly give, and celebrate thy N[ame.]
 Thy glorious Statue of Corinthian [brafs]
 Shall ftand while Time is Time [(telling each clafs]
 Of thy great Aëts) and ftiled t[ruthfully]
 The Guardian Angel of our M[onarchy.]

FINIS.

London, Printed by John Macock. May 22, 1660.

[N.B. The original, and (as far as we know) unique, broadside is fo damaged near the end, that we have been obliged to fupply fome rhymes conjecturally.]

A N A G R A M

On his Excellency the Lord General

G E O R G E M O N C K ;

King come ore.

You divine Cabalists, who raise your fame
By your expounding every word and name,
See, here's a Name makes all the world to ring!
GEORGE MONCK interpreted is *Come ore King*.
Come ore King Charles, receive your triple Crown :
He give you them, yet give you but your own,
Says the most loyal and most prudent Knight
That vertue ever taught ; for his delight
Is to teach all Justice and Loyalty
That his unparallel'd example see.
The Fleets and Flocks, meeting on seas and shore,
Extoll GEORGE MONCK that caus'd the KING COME ORE.
His name foretold what now himself hath done,
By bringing in the lawfull Heire and Son
Of Charles the First, undoubted successor
To Brutus, Fergus and the Conqueror.
When statesmen heard we would the King restore,
They ask'd who durst do't ? we said KING COME ORE !
He sign'd a blank, and sent it to the King :
Our Monarch ask'd no more ; but ORE did bring

His loyall train, big with content
 T'imbrace George Monck, and's true free Parliament.
Vive George Monck! for since the King came ore
 We reap those joyes we fowd in teares before.
 Propitious Heaven's the STUARTS long preserve,
 And Moncks as long our gracious Kings to serve!

FOR MR. WILLIAM CLARK, Sec.

W. DRUMMOND, Gent.

[N.B. Son to W. Drummond of Hawthornden,
 and afterwards knighted by Charles II—perhaps for
 this happy Anagram.]

THE PROLOGUE

To his Majesty at the
 first Play presented at the Cock-pit in
 WHITE HALL,

*Being part of that Noble Entertainment which their
 Majesties received Novemb. 19 from his
 Grace the Duke of Albemarle.*

Greatest of Monarchs! welcome to this place,
 Which Majesty was so oft wont to grace
 Before our Exile, to divert the Court,
 And ballance weighty cares with harmles sport :

This truth we can to our advantage fay,
They that would have no King would have no Play.
The Laurel and the Crown together went,
Had the fame foes and the fame Banishment.
The Ghosts of their* great Ancestors they fear'd ;
Who by the art of conjuring Poets rear'd,
Our Harries and our Edwards, long since dead,
Still on the Stage a march of glory tread.
Those Monuments of Fame (they thought) would
 flain,
And teach the people to despise their Reign.
Nor durst they look into the Muses Well,
Least the cleer Spring their ugliness should tell :
Affrighted with the shadow of their rage,
They broke the Mirror of the Times, the Stage.
The Stage against them still maintain'd the war,
When they debauch'd the Pulpit and the Bar.
Though to be Hypocrites be our praise alone,
'Tis our peculiar boast that we were none.
What e're they taught, we practis'd what was true,
And something we had learn'd of honor too.
When by your danger and our duty prest,
We acted in the field, and not in jest ;
Then for the Cause our Tying-house they sack't,
And silenc't us that they alone might act.

* Altered to "*your* great Ancestors" by Davenant in MS.

And (to our fhame) moſt dext'rouſly they do it,
Out-aſt the Players, and out-ly the Poet :
But all the other Arts appear'd ſo ſcarce,
Ours were the Moral Lectures, theirs the Farſe :
This ſpacious land their Theater became,
And they grave Counſellors and Lords in name ;
Which theſe Mechanicks perſonate ſo ill,
That ev'n the oppreſſed with contempt they fill.
But when the Lyons dreadful ſkin they took,
They roard ſo loud that the whole Foreſt ſhook,
The noiſe kept all the neighbourhood in awe,
Who thought 'twas the true Lyon by his pawe.
If feigned Vertue could ſuch wonders do,
What may we not expect from this that's true ?
But this great Theme muſt ſerve another age
To fill our Story, and adorne our Stage.

By WILL DAVENANT.

London, Printed for G. Bedell and T. Collins, at the
Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-ftreet. 1660.

FINIS.

[N.B. This broadſide is a curious dramatic relic,
independently of its connexion with the events of
the time : moreover, our copy is ſubſcribed by
Davenant himſelf.]

INTRODUCTION.

RICHARD JOHNSON, the writer of "The most famous History of the Seven Champions of Christendom" (entered at Stationers' Hall in 1596, although the oldest known copy is of 1608) and of various other productions, was in all probability the author of the ensuing very rare tract, of which we never saw, or heard of, more than two exemplars. He put his well known initials at the end of the dedication to Sir Thomas Middleton, Lord Mayor of London in 1613; and there he claims, as Richard Johnson had always done, to be a freeman of the city. It will be seen throughout, that R. I. treats the magistrates, and other wealthy inhabitants and traders, with peculiar respect and deference.

His professed object was to expose certain flagrant abuses existing in the metropolis, and to direct the attention of persons in authority to the cheats and rogues who preyed especially upon the rich, the young, and the unwary. He entreats the Lord Mayor and Aldermen "to overlook the evils" he points out, not of course meaning thereby that the authors of them should be spared, as we now commonly employ the word "overlook", but that they should be looked into, and severely punished. The dicing houses, bowling alleys, and tabling houses, as the author calls ordinaries, where gentlemen and gamesters often collected and

dined, were, in his opinion, the great sources of the mischiefs of which he complains; and sharpeners, brokers, and money lenders (occupying the places of our modern pawn-shops) were the persons who practised on the wants and ignorance of the thoughtless. As a remedy, especially as regarded Jews, he calls attention to the precedent of the massacre of five hundred Israelites in the reign of Henry III, almost seeming anxious that the bloody scene should be re-enacted in the reign of James I. In our day, as if we honoured them for their adherence to their ancient faith, we encourage the Jews to play a prominent part in our political system, and to obtain a firm hold of the soil of their adoption. How soon they may be thought to have engrossed more than their share of it, we know not; but we have recently seen the gifted son of a conscientious Jew holding a public station second only to that of the Prime Minister of the Empire.

Johnson enters into no particulars, and points out no offending individuals: on the contrary, he carefully avoids a description of the modes in which many of the frauds were accomplished, lest, as he says, he should enable others to commit them. There is no doubt that he was well instructed upon the subject, and his tract affords a curious illustration of prevailing crimes and corruptions. The style is careless, and, as might be expected, the printing in various places, incorrect.

Having neglected to copy it when this rare publication passed through our hands, we have gladly been indebted to Mr. Halliwell for the transcript we have employed. His zeal and accuracy are well established.

LOOK ON ME, LONDON.

I am an honest Englishman, ripping up the Bowels of
Mischiefe, lurking in thy sub-urbs
and Precincts.

TAKE HEED :

*The Hangman's Halter, and the Beadle's whip,
Will make the Foole dance, and the Knave to skip.*



LONDON,

Printed by N. O. for Thomas Archer, and are to
bee fold at his shop in Popes-Head Palace
neere the Royall Exchange. 1613.



To the Right
Honourable Sir Thomas
MIDDLETON, KNIGHT,
Lord Maior of the most famous
Citty of London.

RIGHT Honorable, as to the fairest ornament of this glorious Citty, doe I most humbly dedicate this my small discovery of abuses; wherein is declared some of the hidden evils harboured in the bowels of London, for the which I know your Honour is as ready to finde reformation, as you are willing to heare them reported; for in the first yeare of the Kings Majesties Reigne (your Lordship being then Shrieve of this Citty) you made your visitations in the sub-urbs, and out-places of the precincts of London, to enquire after evil livers, and by justice strove to root out iniquity: which good beginning

will eternize your glory, and establish prosperity in this worthy Citty.

And no doubt but your Honour's fore-passed care, in comforting the good, and bridling the wicked, hath impressed an inward love in the hearts of the Commons, and bred an assurance in your happy proceeding; for it concerneth the prosperity of all our children and kinsfolkes, and a benefite to the whole estate of the youth of this citty.

I (onely) of zeale in these few sheets of paper, have discovered insufferable faults, but not spoke of the faulty men, whom I referre to your wisdom to be considered of. To your Honours censure do I present this my travell, and at your commandment myselfe; vowing in the action of a poore Freeman of London, to seeke the good of this famous Citty, and shew myselfe willing for your Honours imploiment.

Your Honours poore
well-wisher,

R. I.

TO THE YONG MEN OF LONDON,

AS WELL GENTLEMEN AS OTHERS.

I am perfwaded, that in this Dedication, I doe falute the moſt part of all the yong Gentlemen of England, in that they either dwell, or have beene in this worthy Citty of London, where they have ſeene many wanton alectives to unthriflines, which, like to enchanting adamant rockes, drawes gold and ſiluer as faſt as iron and ſteele.

Therefore (yong men) you muſt bee armed with more experience then the capacity of yong yeares, or elſe, aſſure your ſelves, repentance will vn-looſe your fetters : for, truly, I cannot ſee, how yong men of the beſt education can ſcape untangled, when vice is ſo converſant with elder yeares. O ! how happy were it for your poſterity, if all dicing-houſes, and allies of gaming, were ſuppreſſed in and about this citty : from which, if you cannot bee drawne, this little booke will guide you ſafe, and give you faire warnings of many of your companions falles. I beſeech you bee adviſed, and learne to ſhun theſe miſchiefes by other mens harmes, that the reward of this my

writing may prove fortunate, and myfelfe happy to fee you thrive and flourish.

I dedicate this Booke to the Honourable Magistrate to whom appertaineth the correction of evill livers, your worſt enemies; I meane the fucking ſhifters now ſecretly lurking in the circuits of this famous citty, of whom his good Honour, I hope, will eafe you, and make you prosperous by the reformation. So, leaving to trouble you with a tedious Induction, I end at this time, but in no time will leave to be,

Your wel-wiſhing friend,

R. I.

A COUNTRY MANS COUNCELL,

Given to his Sonne, at his going up to dwell at London,
being a true Touch-ſtone for this age, found out
by Time and Experience.

London, where thou intendeſt to goe (ſonne William) and ſet up thy lives reſting place, is at this day (as thou knoweſt) the Capitall Citty of our countrey, and the paragon of Chriſtendome, a place of much honour and reputation, as well in reſpect of reverent

gouvernement, as sumptuous building and riches ; London (I say) is the strength and ornament of this wel-governed land, unto which place every gentleman, and almost every yeoman of ability, sendeth the ripest witted of his children, either to study the common lawes of England, or become merchants to enrich their countrey ; wherein the love of a father to his sonne is discharged, and the duty of a friend to his countrey performed. .

But yet take this admonition from me, thy father. In this good citty are many alectives to unthriftiness ; by which meanes, where the father hath beene at charge to make his sonne a lawyer, to doe his countrey service, or a merchant or tradesman to become a good member to his flourishing citty, his aforesaid sonne (for want of government) many times spends his whole substance, to the utter undoing of his posterity, and great shame of his kindred. Therefore take heed, my sonne ; one scabbed sheepe infecteth a whole flocke, and one wastfull prodigall makes a swarme of unthrifths : of which many there be now, that live in and about the citty of London, that will quickly seize upon thee, and such fond yong men as thou art, and by their lewd conditions draw thee from study, or from thy other businesse, and bring thee acquainted with their wicked comforts and companions ; and where must it be, but in ordi-

naries, dicing-houfes, bowling-allies, brothel-houfes, and fuch like, where their bravery, revelling, and merry company is able to bring a ftaid man into their fellowfhip; but much more eafier a light-headed yong man, as thou art, and fuch as comes unexperienced out of the countrey, as now thou doeft.

But now, being intangled in their fellowfhip, firft pride infecteth thee with a defire to be as brave as the beft; where, if thou haft living, either in poffeffion, or poffibility, thou fhalt finde sweet baits amongft them to choake thee with all; for many of thefe placès aforefaid nourifh moft dangerous and wicked guefts, which will quickly clofe with the unexperienced yong man, and of his ability maintaine themfelves cunningly like gentlemen, which bee gallant fhifters, cunning pandors, and covetous brokers.

First, the gallant fhifter, like a cunning companion, in apparrell, countenance and boldneffe, will checke mate with men of right good worfhip, when he himfelfe (perhaps) in a greene thicket by the highway fide, with a masked face, a piftoll, and a whip-cord, gets his whole inheritance.

But the manner of fuch cunning shifts I thinke neceffary to conceale, left the reports prove more hurtfull to the evill inclined, then the admonition profitable to the well difpofed: but this I affure thee

of (as many a gentleman's vndoing witneffeth) that these expert shifters, by false dice, slippery casting, and other like flights, dally with yong noviffes so long, till they make their purses a poore penyleffe banquet.

And (my sonne) bee thou thus conceited ; that the man that is enticed to bee a dicer, of his owne accord will become a whoremaifter, where a few of ordinary dinners in that kinde, will waste a great deale of his substance.

But some will say, the want of acquaintance will keepe him chaste : but I conclude with the prouerbe, Mony will hire a guide to goe to the Diuell. And surely at such ordinary meetings as be in bowling-allies, and dicing-houses, a man may finde many of these neat pandors, such as onely live upon brokage of love, fellowes that will procure a womans acquaintance for a dumbe man : these bee no bashfull companions, but such as glory in their base faculty, their common talke will bee of ribaldry, and matter of like purpose. And to conclude, hee will take advantage of time and place, and cunningly blow a meeting of faire women into my yong maisters eares, and then his company needeth not to bee requested ; for presently desire maketh him mad for their meeting. Where ? hee cryes ; Come, let us goe ! and so, with more haste then good speede, hies to some

blinde brothell house about the subvrbs, or skirts of the citty, where (peradventure) for a pottle or two of wine, the embracement of a painted strumpet, and the French welcome for a reckoning, the yong novice payeth forty shillings, or better.

Yet for all this, my brave shifter hath a more costly reckoning to give him; for being thus growne into acquaintance, hee will in a familiar kinde of curtesie, accompany him up and downe the citty, and in the end will come vnto a mercer's or goldsmith's shoppe, of whom the yong gentleman is well knowne: there will he cheapen velvet, fatten, jewels, or what him liketh, and offer his new friends credit for the payment, he will with so bold a countenance aske this friendship, that the gentleman shall bee to seeke of excuse to deny him. Well, although the penyworths of the one bee not very good, yet the payment of the other is sure to bee currant.

Thus by prodigall ryots, vaine company, and rash furetieship, many of our English yong gentlemen are learned to say,

I wealthy was of late,
Though needy now [I] be:
Three things haue chang'd my state;
Dice, wine, and Venerie.

But to our purpose. The delights of these tabling-houses are so pleasant and tempting, that a man when

hee hath there loft all his money, will be moſt willing, even in the place of his undoing, to ſtand money-leſſe, and bee an idle looker on of other mens unthriftineſſe.

After all this, there feizeth vpon the needy gentleman, thus conſumed, another devouring caterpillar, which is the broker for money, one that is either an old bankerout Citizen, or ſome ſmooth-conditioned unthrifty gentleman farre in debt : ſome one of theſe will helpe him to credit with ſome of their late creditors, with a ſingle proteſtation of meere curteſie. But, by your favour, they will herein deale moſt cunningly ; for the citizen broker (after money taken out for his paines, conſideration for the time given, and loſſe in ſelling of the wares put together) will bring the yong gentleman fifty pounds currant money for a hundred pounds good debt.

Mary, the gentleman broker will deale more galanter, for he will be bound with his fellow gentleman for a hundred pound, ſharing the money equally betweene them, not without ſolemne promiſe to diſcharge his owne fifty, and, if need be, the whole hundred pounds affurance.

But let all theſe miſchiefes goe : here is want ſupplied, which breakes brazen walles, money received, which betrayeth kingdoms ; for the ſame, nothing but inke, wax, and parchment delivered, which is a

merry exchange, if a man should be alwayes thus busied in receiving, and never finde leasure for the repaiment.

But oh! thou unhappy yong gentleman, whatsoever thou be, that art matched! heere must I breathe awhile, and admonish thee with a few notes of my councell of experience; for I know thy covetous desire of money is such, and so great, that thou hadst rather become debter for forty pounds, then to spare forty shillings out of thy purse: therefore, take this Lesson from a tongue of experience. Thou wert better give one of these fellowes ten pound, then to bee bound for fifteene, for what so remaineth thou savest, when all that thou ventrest thou loosest. And be thou assure, though thou wilt finde no time to satisfie thy covenant, yet will thy creditor worke thee an arrest, which (untill hee bee fully contented and payd) will give thee little ease, and lesse liberty. But I feare me, all in vaine doe I give this councell to a Prodigall, that is tied to covetousnesse with silver linkes; for prodigality and covetousnesse chained together are two extreme passions, and so violent, that no phyicke can cure, but beggary and death. Beggary is the end of prodigality, and death the end of covetousnesse; yet in my minde, of them both the covetous man is the worser; for with his riches he doth no man good, no not so much as himselfe, when

the prodigall by the undoing of himfelfe enricheth many : therefore, the beft that may be faid of the prodigall concludeth an undoing of himfelfe and his pofterity.

I have read in the workes of a famous Phylofopher, which faith, The prodigall man never obferveth time, beginning, nor end, untill ryot hath confumed him and his patrimony. And where is it confumed, but in ordinaries, dicing-houfes, bowling allies, and fuch like affemblies ? which, if they were fuppreffed, many a mans land would be kept from felling, many a mans necke from the halter, and the common-wealth (perhaps) from further mifchiefes. And from my heart I wifh, that upon the gate or dore of every tabling-houfe and bowling-alley might bee fet a whip and a halter for a figne ; then furely all unthrifts and their affociates would be afhamed to come to thofe places, unleffe fhame had utterly forfooke them.

I have but yet begun to anatomize the head of thefe fanctuaries of iniquity ; there are heapes and whole bodies of evils follow. The deceite of dice, the charge of ftrumpets, the fleight of coufenage, and the cunning of brokage, is all that I have yet layd upon our wilde-headed yong gentlemen, which (like carrions) onely prey upon gold, filver, and fuch like carrlage : thefe bee but fucking flyes, the biting fcor-

pions come after : even as a bird, that hath but one feather limed, by striving fettereth her whole body ; fo the unfortunate yong gentleman, which is brought behinde hand by the hazard of dice, through a vaine hope to redeeme himfelfe, followeth his mifchiefe, to the fpending of the laft payment of all his eftate ; and then (to helpe him forward) fome one fpy of the lawe, or other, namely a petty-fogger (the reverence done unto the lawe, and good lawyers revered) is evermore sneaking into the company of rich heires, and ftill keepes an alphabet of all fuch gentlemens names that frequenteth thefe common gaming-houfes : his eyes are fetled upon their difpofitions, and his exercife is daily to fearch the Rolles and the Office of the Statutes, to learne what recognizances, morgages, and ftatutes do charge their lands.

This is the pernicious broker ; the other helped the needy gentleman to money at fifty in the hundred loffe, but hee helpeth him to fell land at five yeares purchafe.

I muft heere digrefle from the prodigality of the gentleman unto the covetneffe and ufury (I cannot well fay) of the citizen, although he dwelleth in the Citty, for the true citizen (whereof London hath plenty) liveth upon his calling, bee hee a merchant venturing abroad, or tradesmen living at home. But thefe fhames of good cittizens, I meane fuch as

tradeth but only to a gaming-houſe, or at the furtheſt travelleth but to a bowling-alley, a horſe-rifling, the meeting of gentlemen at an ordinary, and ſuch like.

There, with eaſe and ſafety, doe theſe fellowes gather wealth and riches as faſt as the good cittizen with much hazard, and farre travels.

Theſe caterpillers come not thither to play the unthrifts, but to prey upon unthrifts, and yet for company, and to avoyde ſuſpition, they will ſometimes play the good-fellowes, and now and then ſport a pound or two.

Theſe men need not too greedily ſeeke for purchaſes, for the neceſſity of decaying gentlemen, and yong cittizens, will make them faire offers, and their ſpyes (as I ſayd before) will give them knowledge where there is found dealing.

Now, amongſt theſe fellowes there is ſuch deceite, coloured with cleanly ſhifts, as many gentlemen are for a trifſe ſhifted out of their livings without hope of recovery; for it is well knowne, that the extremity and hard dealing of ſuch men hath impreſſed a naturall mallice in the hearts of gentlemen againſt cittizens; in ſo much that if a gentleman purpoſe to ſcoffe a cittizen, he will call him, a trimme merchant: likewiſe the cittizen, ſcoffing the gentleman, will call every common fellow a jolly gentleman.

Truly, truly, in my minde, this mortal envy betweene these two worthy Estates was first begotten by the cruell usage of covetous merchants in former ages, by hard bargaines gotten of gentlemen, and still nourished as revenges taken of both parties.

Thus one mischief drawes on another, and in my opinion gaming-houses are the chiefe fountaines thereof: which wicked places first nourisheth our yong men of England in pride, then acquainteth them with fundry shifting companions, whereof one sort cozeneth them at dice and cardes, another sort confume them with riotous meetings, another sort by brokage bringeth them in debt, and out of credite; and then awaiteth covetousnesse and usury to fease upon their livings, and the officious Serjeant upon their liberties: and all this (as I said before) principally proceeds by the frequenting of gaming-houses.

But let us now search deeper into these wounds of a common-wealth; for if we consider all things aright, there is more fouler matter behind, and such things as makes my heart bleede to thinke of. We have but yet spoken of those gaming-houses, which are chiefly for the entertainment of courtiers and gentlemen: the others bee of a more private standing, which be called common-houses, where the vulgar and inferiour sort of people resort, such as have poore wives and children, and families to care for.

Surely, the inconvenience cannot chuse but be great, when a poore man leaveth his house, and the company of his wife and family, and dineth abroad amongst gamesters, whose wits be still labouring which way to deceive him.

This order, me thinkes, is a bad order, and a breach of credite, to see a Trades-man, or one that gets his living by the sweate of his browes, to eate and drinke abroad, unlesse one neighbour invite another ; but sufferance hath brought this disorder to such a custome, that it is now made a daily practise amongst our poorer sort of citizens. Marry, the maisters of these gaming houses want no guests, for where carion is, crows will be plenty, and where mony is stirring, Theaters will not be idle.

Yong citzienes, for the most part, depend upon their credite, and, therefore, are loath that there should be an open knowledge of their unthriftinesse : all the better (I say) for the biting cheater, for close in a chamber one of these cogging knaves getteth more money in an howre, than many an honest man spendeth in one yeare.

But, above others, this one thing is much to be lamented : by this vaine delight unthrifty citzizens consume other men's goods, who (perhaps) laboured painefully to get them, when gentlemen, although

that they undoe their posterity, spend but their owne goods and lands.

The eares of the Magistrates are daily full of the breaking of yong marchants, and here I lay before their eyes, the causes thereof ; even these wicked meeting places : they bee places unto which Magistrates come not, and, therefore, the abuses un-knowne unto them, but I thinke it a worke of much honesty to reveale them, and in the magistrate a worke of more justice to reforme them ; and, although this be true that I write, and the evils more then I will speake of, yet I finde my conscience free from their shifts, as I presume that no man (as faulty) will, or can, reprehend mee for those kind of courses : and to keepe myselfe more cleere from them, I will passe by those streetes, where these vile houses are planted, and bleffe mee from the inticements of them, which, in deed, are many and more dangerous, in that they please with a vaine hope of gaine.

There now comes into my mind a pretty saying of a distemperate dicer, which solemnly did sweare, that he believed, that dice were first made of the bones of a witch, and cardes of her skin, in which there hath ever since remained a kinde of enchantment, that whosoever once taketh delight in either shall never have power utterly to leave them : for, quoth hee, a hundred times have I 'vowd to leave both,

yet have I not the grace to forsake either. But now, againe, to the possibility of reformation, to overcome this inticing mischiefe.

If the Magistrates furvaide but these vile houses by honest conservators, you should finde the painefull travels of capitall magistrates much eased, many men's lives shall bee saved, gentlemen have more land, and cittizens greater store of money; which mettle is the greatest strength of a citty, for where money is not scarce, trafficke is plenty, which supporteth all citties; but to my purpose; these devilish houses are causes that marchants have so much land, and gentlemen so little government.

I have already showne to what extremity the better sort of these houses bring a number of our flourishing yong gentlemen; to what misery the second sort (called Ordinaries for cittizens) bring a great number of yong marchants.

Now remaineth the discovery of the third sort of these haunts, which are placed in the sub-urbs of the citty, in allies, gardanes, and other obscure corners, out of the common walkes of the magistrates.

The daily guesstes of these privy houses are maisterlesse men, needy shifters, theeves, cut-purses, unthrifty servants, both serving-men and prentises. Here, a man may picke out mates for all purposes, save such as are good. Here a man may find out fellowes,

that for a pottle of wine will make no more conscience to kill a man, then a butcher a beast. Here closely lie Saint Nicholas Clearkes, that with a good northerne gelding will gaine more by a halter, then an honest yeoman will with a teame of good horses. Here are they that will not let to deceive their father, to rob their brother, and fire their neighbour's house for an advantage. These brave companions will not sticke to spend frankly, though they have neither lands nor goods by the dead, nor honesty by nature. But how will this hold out? Fire will consume wood without maintenance, and ryot make a weake purffe without supply.

Gentlemen (for the most part) have lands to make money, and the yong cittizens [a] way to get credite; but these idle fellows have neither lands nor credite, nor will live by any honest meanes or occupation: yet have they hands to filch, heads to deceive, and friends to receive, and by these helps, most commonly, shift they badly well.

The other, upon currant assurance, perhaps get termed theeves; for the broker agreeeth before, with the borrower, to receive more then was borrowed, because before hee steale, hee tels the party how much he will steale, as though hee stole by law; nay, I may say, without law; for, like a mistery, these brokers have devised more sorts of lending upon

pawnes than there bee trickes at cardes ; but I am affraid to shew you them, lest I should teach you to bee of that kind. But yet some few examples will I heere venture on, as hereafter followeth : the parties I do know now resident in London.

I know a broker that will take no interest for his money, but will have the lease of your house, or your land in use, receiving rent for the same till you pay your principall againe, which will come to a greater gaine than three-score in the hundred.

I know another that will take no interest money, but will have pewter, brasse, sheets, plate, table-clothes, napkins, and such-like things, to use in his house, till his money come home ; which will loose more in the wearing than the interest of the money will come to.

I know another that will take a pawne twice worth the money that hee lends, and agree with the borrower to redeeme it at a day, or loose it ; by which meanes the poore borrower is forced sometimes, for want of money, to loose his pawne for halfe the valew.

I know another that will not lend, but buy at small prices, and covenant with the borrower to buy the same againe, at such a price, at such a day, or loose it : this is a fellow that seekes to cozen the laws ; but let him take heed, least the devill, his

good maister, cozens not him, and, at the last, carry him post into hell.

I know another that will lend out his money to men of occupations, as to butchers, bakers, and such like, upon condition to bee partners in their gaines, but not in their losses : by which means, hee that takes all the paines, and ventures all, is forced to give the broker halfe the profits for his money.

I know another, for his money-lending to a carpenter, a bricke-layer, or a plaisterer, will agree with them for so many daies' works, or so many weekes, for the loane of his money ; which, if all reckonings bee cast, will come to a deere interest.

I know many about this Citty that will not bee seene to bee brokers themselves, but suffer their wives to deale with their money, as to lend a shilling for a peny a weeke to fish-wives, oyster-women, oringe-wenchies, and such-like : these be they that looke about the citty like rats and weasels, to gnaw poore people alive, and yet go invisible.

This, if it be well considered of, is a Jewish brokerage ; for, indeed, the Jewes first brought usury and brokerage into England, which now, by long sufferance, have much blemished the ancient vertues of this kingdome : let us but remember this one example, how that in the time of King Henry the Third, the good cittizens of London, in one night,

flew five hundred Jewes, for that a Jew tooke of a Christian a penny in the shilling usury, and ever after got them banished the citty. But, truely, these brokers afore-said deserve worse then Jewes, for they be like unto strumpets, for they receive all men's money, as well the beggar's as the gentleman's; nay, they will themselves take money upon brokage, to bring their trade into a better custome, which in my minde is a wicked custome to live onely by finne.

The good Magistrates, I hope, will overlooke these evils, least these evils over-rule their posterity; but especially these tabling-houses, wherein, so many hundred shifters maintaine themselves gallantly, to the undoing of a number of good gentlemen, citizens, trades-men, and such-like; for if the shifters in, and within the level of London, were truely mustered, I dare boldly say they would amaze a good army. I would their close coverts were discovered, and then no doubt but justice would find their faults, or repentance shew their amendment.

To conclude, it is every man's case in this land, that hath care of his posterity, to be suitors for reformation: the evill hereof even perissheth the marrow and strength of this happy Realme. I meane the ability of the gentry is much weakened, and many good citizens almost bursted by haunting of

these ungracious houfes. If this my difcovery bee
confidered of by wifedome, I presume it will
prove beneficiall to this glorious monument
of the land, London I meane, which
the Lord bleffe and keepe in this
her wonted profperity.

Amen.

FINIS.

INTRODUCTION.

WE know of no other perfect copy of this clever performance than the one to which we have resorted for our reprint.

Who William Bas may have been nobody has ascertained: some have supposed that he was the same William Basse, who in 1613 published a poem (a fragment of it only has come down to us) on the death of Prince Henry, under the title of "Great Brittaines Sunnes-set, bewailed with a shower of Teares." We are not of that opinion, and for this reason: in 1613 William Basse speaks of his "young Muse," as having assisted him to lament the loss of Prince Henry: if he had begun writing in 1602, and had then put forth a separate, though small, volume, it is not at all likely that eleven years afterwards he would have pleaded his youth as an excuse for insufficiency. Our notion is that the two might be father and son, and that the son may have caught his inclination for verse from the father. The son was the more ambitious, and attempted a higher class of poetry, but the father's success, in his inferior department, was certainly greater than that of the son in his loftier aim, as evidenced by anything the latter has left behind him, whether in print or in manuscript.

Anthony Wood informs us that the author of "Great Brittain's Sunnes-set" was "a retainer of Lord Wenman of Tame" (*Ath. Oxon.*, iv, 222, edit. Bliss); and such may also have been the case with his father, who writes as if he then filled some menial capacity; but his education was clearly superior to such a position, and he, very likely, assumed the character of a "serving-man" only for the sake of his poem, and for the advantage it gave him in argument, as speaking from his own experience.

It has been suggested that "Bas," as it is spelt on our title-page, was only an abridgment of the real name; but it will be seen that on p. v he makes it rhyme with "pas," *i. e.*, pass, which he probably would not have done if the real name had been Basset, or any other beginning with "Bas."

A few errors will be noticed as the reader proceeds, such as "But if these times," on p. 8, which ought to be "But *in* these times." On the whole, however, the piece was well printed in 1602.

J. P. C.

Sword and Buckler :

OR,

SERVING-MANS DEFENCE.

By WILLIAM BAS.

—— Agimusq; hæc prælia verbis.



AT LONDON

Imprinted for M. L. and are to be sold at his
shop in S. Dunstons Churchyard.

1602.

TO THE HONEST AND FAITHFUL

Brotherhood of True-hearts, all the old

and young Serving-men of England,

health and happinefs.

I that in seruice yet haue never knowne
More than might well content my humble hart :
(I thank the God of heauens mightie throne,
My masters favour, and mine owne defart)
Yet am for you the champion of good will,
Because I feelingly conceive your ill.

To taxe their minds to whom we doe belong,
I neither purpose nor defier much :
The publike multitude that do's us wrong,
And none but them, my vaine must chiefly touch :
In whose rude thoughts my youth is grieu'd to see,
That Serving-men so slightly reckon'd bee.

Long stood we mute, and heard ourselves defam'd
 In every moodie jest, and idle braul ;
 Not now our prize is seriously proclaim'd,
 And I become the challenger for all :

My stage is peace, my combat is a word,
 My muse my buckler, and my pen my sword.

Who treads my stage is challeng'd, yet not tride :
 Who tries my combat fights, yet feels no weapon :
 Who sees my buckler's dar'd, but not decide :
 Who touch my sword is hit, but neuer beaten :
 For peace tries no man, words can make no fight,
 Muses doe but invent, and pens but write.

Now if my actions prosper, you shall see
 Your titles grac'd with greater estimation ;
 Or at the least we shall no longer bee
 Deprived of deserved reputation :
 But if my first attempts have no prevailing,
 I will supplie them still in never failing
 To be your faithfull brother,

WILL. BAS.

TO THE READER.

READE if you will: And if you will not, chuse;
My booke (Sir) shall be read though you refuse:
But if you doe, I pray commend my wit,
For, by my faith, 'tis first that ere I writ.

Who reades and not commends, it is a rule
To hold him very wise, or very foole.

But whoſoere commends, and doth not reede,
What ere the other is, he's a foole indeede:
But who doth neither reade nor yet commend,
God ſpeed him well; his labour's at an end.

But reade, or praife, or not, or how it paſs,
I reſt your honeſt, careleſſe friend,

WILL. BAS.

SWORD AND BOCKLER, OR SERVING- MANS DEFENCE.

I.

A MAN that's neither borne to wealth, nor place,
But to the meere despite of Fortunes brow,
Though, peradventure, well endew'd with grace
Of stature, forme, and other giftes enow,
Submits himselfe unto a servile yoke,
And is content to weare a livery cloke.

2.

Whether it be by hard constraint of need,
Or love to be made perfect in good fashion,
Or by the meanes of some unlawfull deed,
That might deprive an ancient reputation ;
Who-ever to this course himselfe doth give,
Is call'd a *Serving-man*. And thus doth live

3.

Continually at hand, to see, to heare
His lords, his masters, ladies, mistris will,
T'attempt with dutie, readines and feare,

What they commaund his service to fulfill :
And yet not as he would, but as he shall,
To grudge at nothing, to accept of all.

4.

To act with truth and serviceable skill
The tasks or offices imposde on him,
To be observant and industrious still,
Well manner'd, and disposde to goe as trim,
As wages, gifts, or proper state affords ;
Active in deedes, and curteous in words.

5.

Having a head well wonted to abide
To goe without his shelter, cold and bare ;
Having a heart well hammerd, strongly tride,
On Chances anviles, fornaces of Care ;
A good capacitie to understand,
A legging foote, a well-embracing hand.

6.

This man of all things must abandon pride,
Chiefie in gestures, and in acts exterior ;
For greater states can by no meanes abide
Ambition in a person so inferiour :
Yet in his private thoughts no whit dismist
To prize his reputation as he list.

7.

Though if he be himfelfe of gentle blood,
Or of his nature loftily difpofde,
Yet never let him brag himfelfe fo good ;
But rather hold fuch matters undifclofde,
And keepe his ftate and cariage in one fafhion,
Gracing himfelfe with inward eftimation.

8.

For if we doe infult in tearmes of show
Above our callings, then we feeme to fwarve ;
But if we humble our affections low,
We muft needs gaine the love of them we farve :
Which to our merits if they lift not pay,
Then we are men of more refpect then they.

9.

But if thefe times (alas, poore ferving-men !)
How cheape a credit are we growne into !
With what enforcing taxes, now and then,
This envious world doth our eftates purfue !
How poore, alas, we are ordain'd to be,
How ill regarded in our povertie !

10.

What dutie, what obedience daily now
Our hard commanders looke for at our hands !

And yet how deadly cold their bounties grow,
And how unconstant all their favours stands !
How much we hazard for how little gaine,
How fraile our state, how meane our entertaine !

11.

How subject are we to the checking front,
For every small and trifled oversight !
Compeld to shift, predestinate to want,
Surfet with wrong, yet dare demaund no right :
Organs of profit upon imputation,
Outcasts of losse on euery small occasion !

12.

Our lords they charge, our ladies they command,
And who but us ? And for a thing not done,
Our lords and ladies anger, out of hand,
Must turne us walking in the summers funne,
While those things that are done must alwaies lye,
As objects to a nice exceptions eye.

13.

In common-wealth or bus'nesses of state,
If lord or master exercise hath bin,
Who but his servant thereupon must waite,
What accidents soever fall therein,
And be industrious in all meanes he can :
For why he weares his badge, and is his man.

14.

And in contempt of any adverfarie,
Or mortall triall of the life or land,
How oftentimes the master might miscarie,
Unlesse he be attended, and well mand
 With serving resolute, that at a word
 Will rather lose their lives, than leave their lord.

15.

But what should I care to recount or no
Partiquerly every thing we doe?
Ye lords and masters cannot chuse but know,
That whatsoever thing belongs to you,
 That danger, trouble, paines, attention asks,
 We are your servants, and it is our tasks.

16.

Your flight regard and recompence of this,
So duplifies the bondage of our state,
That oftentimes, folicited amis
By extreame want, and overrul'd by fate,
 Thereby it comes to passe, that now and then
 Many mischances hap to serving-men.

17.

The countrie, then, that with her purblind eyes
Beholds these things in lothsome ignorance,

Catch at report, and piece it out with lyes,
Rash censures, and defaming circumstance,
Affirming what they would have oft denide,
If in such case they might be roughly tride.

18.

But see, how hatefull is but lately growne
This fatall title of a Serving-man,
That euery dunghill clowne and every drone,
Nor wife in nature nor condition,
Spares not to vilefie our name and place,
In dunficall reproch, and blockish phraze.

19.

A morkin-gnoffe, that in his chimney nooke
Sits carping how t'advance his shapeleffe brood,
And in their severall properties doth looke,
To see whats best to bring them all to good,
One points he out a smith, and one a baker,
A third a piper, fourth a coller-maker.

20.

If one, more native gentle then the rest,
To be a Serving-man doth now demaund,
Up starts his fire, as bedlim or posselt,
And asks his sonne, and if he will be hangd ?
Shalt be a hangman, villaine, first (quoth he) :
Amen (say I) so he be none for me.

21.

The pearking citizen, and minfing dame
Of any paltrie beggerd market towne,
Through rotten teeth will giggle out the fame,
Though not in fo harfh manner as the clowne.
I have but two fonnes, but if I had ten,
The worft of them fhould be no Serving-men.

22.

Thus is our fervile innocence expofde
To the reprochfull cenfures of all forts,
To whom our lives were juftly ne'r difclofde,
But by uncertaine larums, falfe reports,
Whereof, men apt to judge (be't truth or no)
Doe rashly fpeake, before they rightly know.

23.

Who let's us now to finde our owne defence
Against all fuch encounters offer'd thus ?
Who is fo void of love, or bare of fence,
To thinke it any mifdemeafne in us,
If we, to right our felves, doe fall againe
Into our ancient fword and buckler vaine.

24.

Yet will we not an infurrection make
Against our owne fuperiour lords and mafters,

With whose kinde love we may more order take
By dutie, then by trying out with wasters ;
Though in this case who need to feare our might,
For we meane nothing but a speaking fight.

25.

But you, the nice tongu'd hufwifes of our time,
That feldome ceafe to execrate our calling,
We doe esteeme it now an odious crime,
With your licentious mouthes to stand a brauling :
Our sword and buckler's out, our stomack's come ;
We will not hurt you much, but hit you home.

26.

Yet doe we not replie to only you,
Or those that you instruct, but every man
That gives us more discourtesie then due :
The merchant, or the Machivilian,
The yeoman, tradesman, clowne, or any one,
What ere he be, we turne our backs to none.

27.

You gentles all, that through your worthines,
Your birth, your place, your wealth, or other cause,
Deserve to entertaine and to possesse
These Serving-men the subjects of your lawes,
Be moved not with wrath and spleenish freakes,
When in their right your poore inferiour speakes.

28.

When you command, remember 't is but speech
To bid a thing be acted to your minde,
Th' obedient man that shall performe the which,
In doing it shall greater labour finde :

Yet where a servants diligence may please,
He may doe all his acts with greater ease.

29.

You give him food and wages : that's most true,
And other matters to sustaine his living :
Why, els he is not bound to follow you ;
Ill service that is worth no more then giving.

Who rent's your lands is sure to pay to you,
And if y'have servants, you must pay them too.

30.

Alas, if must your great affaires be done,
Know that faire means encrease your servants vigour :
Hearts by unpleasing checks are never won,
And willingnes is not enlarg'd by rigour,
When good respect may cherish servile harts,
And helpe t'augment the number of defarts.

31.

If with reviling, and disdainfull scorne,
You urge us with the basenes of our kinde,

Pray, who was *Adams* man when *Cain* was borne?
Or in what scripture doe we reade or finde
That ever God created *Adams* two,
Or we proceeded of worfe stocke then you?

32.

For though that like a brood of starres divine,
You thus maintaine your glorie without date,
And we more like a heard of *Circes* swine,
Are chang'd into a baser forme of state,
Antiquitie yet faies, that you and wee,
Like ants of *Æacus*, came all of a tree.

33.

But mightie God, the more to glorifie
His pow'rfull hand by manifold creation,
Hath since advifde himfelfe to multiplie
The kindred of our mortall generation,
That this great fixe daies labour of his hand
Might not unstor'd, or long unpeopl'd stand.

34.

And we, like wretches, carelesly oreseene,
Neglecting all continuance of our good,
Of our owne birth have unmemorius beene,
And quite forgot the nephewes of our blood,
And of neere kin are growne meere strangers ra-
Almost forgetting we had all one father. [ther,

35.

The times then filld with avarice and strife,
Th' unequalnes of states did happen thus :
Fell out to some a large delightfull life,
To other some the like as fals to us.

Thereafter, as in worldly scraping thrift,
Each craftie mortall for himselfe could shift.

36.

Those that in scorne of discentious striving,
Or b'ing too weake, could not themselues enrich,
Submitted were by force (in servile living)
To them that by their pow'r had gain'd so much.
Thus scambld al the world : some gain'd, some lost,
And who got least serv'd him that gained most,

37.

Yeelding themselves by a devout submission
To those that were ordain'd to high degree,
Well fea's'ning with an humble disposition
Their little pow'r, and small abilitie,
To doe all rev'rent service. Thus began
Th'estate and title of a Serving-man.

38.

And since that time the kindreds, b'ing all one,
Are now encreas'd into two kindreds more :

'The great are nephewes to the great alone,
And all the poore are cofins to the poore.
The Serving-men stand in a state betweene,
As brothers all, but very little kin.

39.

Thus it appeares that mongst the meaner fort,
Those that come neereft to the gentle kinde,
Either in labour to get good report,
Or els in nature, curtesie, or minde,
Digreffing from the rudenes of their blood,
Become partakers in this brotherhood.

40.

And fure me thinks, although unequall lot
Hath ill distributed all worldly goods,
That all alliance fingle is forgot,
And we dispers'd into so many bloods,
Yet that we were all one, and shall agen,
Appeares in the good minds of Serving-men.

41.

For though the great, by learning and by might,
Gaine all the honour, as they doe the lands,
And though the poorer fort lose all their right
Of noblenes, for want of pow'rfull hands,
Yet while the band of Serving-men encrease,
The gentrie of the poore shall never cease.

42.

O! then be pleas'd to cast away disdaine,
Exile injustice, and detest all ire :
Let faire respect in your conditions raigne,
And bountie curbe all orderlesse desire ;
That as you profit by your servants labour,
So he may be encourag'd by your favour.

43.

We grudge you not upon a iust occasion
To use your rigour in discretion on us,
When prooffe, or triall, or examination,
Shall truly burthen some misdeed upon us :
Herein we rest the patients of your lawes,
So that your med'cines not exceed the cause.

44.

Yet if sometimes we doe transgresse in acts,
Either concerning you or other things,
This is no prooffe that we are paltrie Jacks,
As the rude wind-pipe of the countrie sings.
All flesh will faile, and grace will helpe to mend,
And often they finde fault that most offend.

45.

Thus speake I to the barbrous multitude
That every rotten hamlet's fild withall,

Or to the viprous foes of fervitude,
The prefcife flirts of ev'ry trades-mans ftall,
Whofe bufie tongues, and lothing man, defiles
Our honeft fort with vomited reviles.

46.

O! fee (faies one) how fine yon yonker goes,
As bad for pride as Lucifer, or worfe;
I, a right Serving-creature, weares gay clothes,
But little chinke (I warrant you) in 's purfe.
This is a thing I will not much denie,
But fometimes the judicious cox-combs lie.

47.

If he goe handfome, then you fay he's proud:
I hope ther's no neceffitie in that;
Besides, if 'twere a matter to be vow'd,
Or anwerd by long prooffe (as fure 'tis not)
I only could compell you to confes
Your judgments falfe by many instances.

48.

And if his veltiments be fine and gay,
Belike that argu's that he ha's no pence;
But feeing him now fo brave, what will you fay?
If he goe braver farre a twel' month hence,
Then you wil eate your vomit up againe,
And fay 'tis crownes that doe him thus maintaine.

49.

But what should make the gallant lasses say
That ev'ry Serving-man doth love a whore,
But that sometimes, when the good man's away,
She ha's some prooffe, which makes her say the more ?
This was a rule with some in auncient time,
And now imposed as a gen'rall crime.

50.

For too much tippling we are challeng'd, too,
For which I'll absolutely not confes,
So I could wish (to please both God and you)
We had the grace and power to use it les ;
Yet (which is no excuse) I dare to say,
We are not all that doe offend that way.

51.

In this foule vice you all sometimes transgresse,
Clarke, lay-man, yeoman, trades-man, clowne, & all ;
And many gentlemen love dronkenness,
And use it to their great disgrace and fall ;
And therefore 'tis absurditie to thinke
That none but we doe use immoderat drinke.

52.

I graunt, it is a vice that at this day
Disgraceth much the rare sufficiencie

Of many a Serving-man, inclin'd that way
Through great abundance of his curtesie :
For to no other end, that I can see,
Is this exceffe of drinking faid to be.

53.

Though some for meere love of the very pot
In this exceffe are very vicious growne,
And whether such be Serving-men, or not,
I wish them finde excuses of their owne :
For what so ere he be that's so possest,
I doe his actions and himselfe detest.

54.

But, as I faid, it is not we alone
From whom proceed such store of swilling mates :
A cunning spie would now and then finde one,
And twentie dronkards amongst other states :
Then hit not one peculiarly i'th' teeth,
With that that all men are infected with.

55.

Besides, you charge us much with idlenes,
And chiefly those that have superiour roomes
In seruice ; but to meaner offices,
As bailiffes, caters, undercooks and groomes,
You doe impute more labour and lesse sloth :
Here err's againe your judgement in the troth.

56.

No Serving-man, that ever waited well
In's master's chamber, or in other place,
But will be fworne with me his toyles excell
The daily labours of th' inferiour race ;
But that the name, authoritie, and gaines
Of place or office easeth well the paines.

57.

A gentleman in countrie rides or walks
From place to place, as his occasions bind him,
One of his men carries a cast of hawks,
The other ha's a clokebag tide behind him ;
The Faulkners work passeth the others double,
But that the credit do's abate the trouble.

58.

Thus understand our labour is all great,
Ev'n as our charge and offices be many :
If through condition, leasure, or respect,
There seeme a single libertie in any,
Judge him not idle, lest your thoughts be lost ;
For some seeme slothfull when they labour most.

59.

Like as a man that round about his head,
In a strong garter, or a twisted lace,

Windeth a plummet, or a ball of lead ;
Sometimes it goes but flow, sometimes apace :
When it goes fastest 'tis not feene a whit,
But then takes he most paines in winding it,

60.

Sometimes our changed fashions trouble you,
Things that amongst our selves are nothing strange :
And it may be a thing your selves would doe,
If you were not too miserly to change,
Or els too bank'rupt : but we seldome finde
That vesture alters any whit the minde.

61.

And with a hundred rude comparifons,
Injurious censures, and defaming mocks,
You needlessly ubbray our haire. For once
Receive this slight defendant of our locks :
A man may catch a cold with going bare ;
And he that weares not hat, allow him haire.

62.

For curteous speech, and congeyes of delight,
Which your grosse joynts were never taught to doe,
If oftentimes we use them in your fight,
We shall be censur'd, and be laught at too ;
But when you come where others have to doe,
Our betters will besee me to laugh at you.

63.

This speake I not unto the countrie clownes,
For their simplicitie will feldome do't ;
But to the mongrill gentles of good townes,
That mock the motions of anothers foot,
And yet make halting bowes to them they meete,
And drop ill favour'd curt'sies in the streete.

64.

If I should touch particularly all,
Wherein the moodie spleene of captious time
Doth taxe our functions, I should then enthrall
My moved spirit in perpetuall rime :
A gentle vaine that every careles fight
Peruseth much, but nothing mended by't.

65.

I will not all my daies in combat spend,
So much I honour charitie and peace ;
And what is past, I did it to defend,
Yet am the first that do's the quarrell cease,
Ev'n as I was the latest that began,
And yet I am a Sword and Buckler man.

66.

Poore Serving-man, ordain'd to leade his daies,
Not as himselfe, but as another list,

Whose hoped wealth depends upon delaies,
Whose priviledges upon doubts confist,
Whose pleasures still ore-cast with forrowes spight,
As swarfie vapours doe a twinkling night !

67.

Whose sleepes are, like a warrants force, cut short
By vertue of a new commiffions might ;
Or like the bliffe of some affected sport,
Untimely ended by approach of night :
And like a tertian fever is his joy,
That ha's an ill fit ev'ry second day.

68.

His libertie is in an howers while,
Both done and undone like *Penelop's* web ;
His fortunes like an *Æthiopian* Nile,
That ha's a months flow for [a] twel-months ebbe :
His zealous actions like *Æneas* pietie,
Cras'd by the hate of every envious Deitie.

69.

His labours like a *Syſiphus* his wait,
Continually beginning when they ſtay ;
His recompence like *Tantalus* his bait,
That do's but kis his mouth and vade away :
His gaines like winters hoarie hailestones, felt
Betweene the hands, doe in the handling melt.

70.

Now to be short : All that I wish is this,
That all you great, to whom these men repaire,
Respect your servant, as your servant is
The instrument of every great affaire,
The necessarie vicar of your good,
The text in manners to your gentle blood.

71.

That you with love their duties would regard,
With gentlenes allow them all their rights ;
Respect their paines with bountie and reward ;
Consider mildly of their oversights :
For where the master's milde, the servant's merrie,
But where the master's wilde, the servant's wearie.

72.

Unto the world I wish more skill in judging,
More temp'rance in deriding and declaring,
More charitable honestie in grudging,
And more contented humour of forbearing,
Of anything she nicely can espie
In Serving-men with her unlearned eye.

73.

I that have served but a little while,
And that for want of more encrease in age,

Scarfe having yet attain'd an elder stile,
Live in the place and manner of a page,
Yet in meere hope and love of what I shall,
I have begun this combat for them all.

74.

Excepting yet two forts of men that serve,
In whose behalfe I neither fight nor write :
1. Those that through basenes of condition swarve
Into all odious luxure and delight.
2. Those that in place of Serving-men doe stand,
Yet scorne the title of a Serving-man.

75.

For the good fellowes and true-hearts am I,
The rest I lothe, as they our name doe scorne ;
And I will stoutly stand to't till I dye,
Or till my Buckler rot, and Sword be worne,
For good condition, manhood, wit, and art,
The Serving-man to no estate comes short.

FINIS.



INTRODUCTION.

IN spite of the introductory Epistle, signed R. G., in which, be it observed, no authorship is claimed, there is some slight reason for thinking that we are here making an addition to the printed works of no less a man than Sir Walter Raleigh. It is a clear and forcible argument (not without some blemishes of inhumanity) in favour of the final and complete plantation of that part of the New World, called Virginia, which Raleigh, by his captains Amadis and Barlow, had originally discovered in 1584, and to which he, not long afterwards, dispatched a small fleet under the command of his relative Sir Richard Grenville. (*Tytler's Life*, edit. 1844, p. 50.)

Soon after James I. ascended the throne, a fresh impulse was given to this languishing undertaking: it then became a favourite enterprise, and it was encouraged by a patent from the crown. Sir Walter Raleigh was at this time, as is well known, a prisoner in the Tower; but he took the most lively interest in the question, and may have written the tract, now in the hands of the reader, for the purpose of encouraging it, although his imprisonment prevented any active personal promotion of the scheme. At this date, too, he had been deprived of all his property, and his estate of Sherborne had been given to the royal favourite, Carr. Well, therefore, might Raleigh say, at the very conclusion of this "Good speed to Virginia," in which he had so earnestly exhorted every man, in every way, to contribute to the success of the

project, that “*he sorrowed with himself that he was not able, neither in person, nor purse, to be a partaker in the business.*” He was a close prisoner, and he had been deprived of all the lands and money he had once possessed.

Without adverting to internal evidence, derived from strength and purity of style, and from closeness and clearness of reasoning, we may mention another circumstance that connects Raleigh with the pamphlet: the copy we have used has his autograph upon the title-page, with an addition, in abridged Latin, showing that, at the time he wrote it, he was in confinement in the Tower: it is in this form: “*W. Raleigh Turr. Lond.*” Some former owner, who little deserved such a relic, has endeavoured to obliterate the name, and has left it much blurred and rubbed; but it is still legible, while what may be called the address—Tower of London—has not been touched. This, strictly speaking, may only establish that the tract in 1609, or soon afterwards, belonged to Raleigh; but, coupled with the concluding sentence, and its exact application to his lamentable condition and circumstances, together with the power and persuasiveness of the production, we are willing to believe that it may possibly have been drawn up by the man who, being the first to discover and name Virginia, was here anxious to carry out its colonization. The evidence, we admit, is very inconclusive; but what we have said must add to the interest with which the following pages will be perused. We lay no sort of stress upon the fact that the initials R. G. are those of Sir Walter Raleigh (*Gualterus Raleigh*) reversed.

J. P. C.

A
GOOD SPEED
TO VIRGINIA.

ESSAY 42. 4.

*He shall not faile nor be discouraged till he have set
judgement in the earth, and the Iles shall wait
for his law.*



L O N D O N

Printed by FELIX KYNGSTON for *William Welbie*,
and are to be sold at his shop at the signe
of the Greyhound in Pauls Church-
yard. 1609.

To the Right Noble and Honorable Earles, Barons and
Lords, and to the Right Worshipfull Knights,
Merchants and Gentlemen, Adventurers for
the plantation of Virginia, all happie and
prosperous succeffe, which may either
augment your glorie, or increafe
your wealth, or purchase
your eternitie.

TIME, the devourer of his own brood, consumes both
man and his memorie. It is not brasse nor marble
that can perpetuate immortalitie of name upon the earth.
Many in the world have erected faire and goodly monu-
ments, whose memorie, together with their monuments, is
long since defaced and perished. The name, memorie and
actions of those men doe only live in the records of eter-
nity, which have employed their best endeavours in such
vertuous and honourable enterprises, as have advanced the
glorie of God, and enlarged the glorie and wealth of their
countrie. It is not the house of Salomon, called the For-
rest of Lebanon, that continues his name and memorie upon
the earth at this day, but his wisedome, justice, magnifi-
cence and power yet doe, and shall for ever, eternize him.
A right sure foundation, therefore, have you (my Lords and
the rest of the most worthie Adventurers for Virginia) laid
for the immortalitie of your names and memory, which, for
the advancement of Gods glorie, the renowne of his Ma-
jestie, and the good of your Countrie, have undertaken so

honorabſe a project as all poſterities ſhal bleſſe you, and uphold your names and memories ſo long as the Sunne and Moone endureth : whereas they which preferre their money before vertue, their pleaſure before honour, and their ſenſuall ſecuritie before heroicall adventures ſhall periſh with their money, die with their pleaſures, and be buried in everlaſting forgetfulneſe. The diſpoſer of al humane actions diſpoſe your purpoſes, bleſſe your Navie, as hee did the ſhips of Salomon which went to Ophir and brought him home in one yeere ſix hundred threeſcore and ſix talents of gold. The preſerver of al men preſerve your perſons from all perils both by ſea and land, make your goings out like an hoſt of men triumphing for the victorie, and your comings in like an armie dividing the ſpoile ! And as God hath made you inſtruments for the inlarging his Church militant heere upon earth, ſo when the period of your life ſhall be finiſhed, the ſame God make you members of his Church triumphant in Heaven. Amen.

From mine houſe at the Northend of

Sithes lane, London, April 28.

Anno 1609.

Your Honours and Worſhips
in all affectionate well
wiſhing,

R. G.

Good Speede to Virginia.

IOSUAH. 17. 14.

Then the children of Joseph spake vnto Ioshua, saying, why hast thou given me but one lot, and one portion to inherite, seeing I am a great people?

Ioshua then answered, if thou beeest much people, get thee up to the wood, and cut trees for thy selfe in the land of the Perizzites, and of the Giants, if mount Ephraim be too narrow for thee.

Then the children of Joseph said, the Mountaine will not be inough for us, and all the Canaanites that dwell in the low countrey haue Charets of Iron, as well as they in Bethshean, and in the townes of the same, as they in the valley of Israel.

And Ioshua spake unto the house of Joseph, to Ephraim and Manasses, saying, Thou art a great people, and hast great power, and shalt not have one lot.

Therefore the Mountain shal be thine, for it is wood; and thou shalt cut it downe, and the endes of it shall be thine, and thou shalt cast out the Canaanites, thogh they have Iron Charets, and though they be strong.

THE heavens, saith David, even the heavens, are the Lords, and so is the earth, but he hath given it to the children of men. *Pf.* 113. 16. Yet

notwithstanding the fatherly providence and large bountie of God towards man, so improvident and irrespsective is man that he had rather live like a drone, and feede uppon the fruites of other mens labors, whereunto God hath not entituled him, then looke out and flie abroad like the bee to gather the pleasures and riches of the earth, which God hath given him to enjoy : whereupon it comes to passe, that although the Lord hath given the earth to the children of men, yet this earth, which is mans fee-simple by deed of gift from God, is the greater part of it possessed and wrongfully usurped by wild beasts, and unreasonable creatures, or by brutish savages, which by reason of their godles ignorance and blasphemous idolatrie are worse then those beasts which are of most wilde and savage nature. As Ahab therefore sometimes said to his servants, *1 King 22, 13*, " Know ye not that Ramoth Gilead was ours, and we stay and take it not out of the hands of the King of Aram ? " So may man say to himselfe, The earth was mine, God gave it me and my posteritie by the name of the children of men, and yet I stay and take it not out of the hands of beasts and brutish savages, which have no interest in it, because they participate rather of the nature of beasts then men.

The Christian part of the world did plainly be-

wray this improvident and irrespèctive neglect of Gods providence and bountie. When Christopher Columbus made proffer to the Kings of England, Portugall and Spaine, to invest them with the most precious and richest veynes of the whole earth, never knowne before; but this offer was not merely rejected, but the man himself, who deserves ever to be renowned, was (of us English especially) scorned and accounted for an idle novellist. Some thinke it was because of his poore apparell, and simple lookes, but surely it is rather to be imputed to the improvidency and imprudencie of our nation, which hath alwayes bred such diffidence in us, that we conceit no new report, bee it never so likely, nor beleeeve any thing, be it never so probable, before we see the effects. This hath alwayes beene reported of the English by those that have observed the nature of nations: Bodin, *lib. 5 de Repub. cap. 1.* reporteth that the English were alwayes accounted more warlike, valourous and couragious then the French, but the French went alwayes beyond them in prudence and pollicie. And to expresse the same he useth the words of Ennius: *Bellipotentès sunt magis quam sapienti potentes.* And it may be that this might be reported of us English in those times when our countrey was not pestered with multitude, nor overcharged with swarmes of people; for peace and

plentie breed securitie in men : neither is it necesarie for anie man to beleeeve reports, though probable, nor to follow strange projects, be they never so likely, so long as he hath home inbred hopes to relie upon, and assured certainties to satisfie his future expectation.

In those days, this kingdome was not so populous as now it is : ciuell warres at home, and forraine warres abroad did cut off the over-spreading branches of our people. Our cōtry thē yeelded unto all that were in it a furplussage of all necessities : it yeelded preferment in due correspondence for al degrees and forts of men. The commons of our country lay free and open for the poore commons to injoy ; for there was roome enough in the land for every man, so that no mā needed to encroch or inclose from another ; whereby it is manifest that in those days we had no great need to follow strange reports, or to seeke wilde adventures ; for seeing we had not only sufficiencie, but an over-flowing measure proportioned to every man, religion and pietie taught us that, seeing our lot was fallen unto us in a faire ground, and that we had a goodly heritage, rather to be content with our own, then either politikely or ambitiously to undertake uncouth enterprises unto which necessitie did no way urge vs.

But now God hath prospered us with the blessings

of the wombe, and with the blessings of the breste, the sword devoureth not abroad, neither is there any feare in our streetes at home, so that we are now for multitude as the thousand of Manasses, and as the ten thousands of Ephraim : the Prince of Peace hath joyned the wood of Israel and Judah in one tree. And, therefore, we may justly say, as the children of Israel say here to Joshua, we are a great people, and the lande is too narrow for us : so that whatsoever we have beene, now it behooves us to be both prudent and politicke, and not to deride and reject good profers of profitable and gainefull expectation, but rather to embrace every occasion which hath any probability in it of future hopes. And seeing there is neither preferment nor employment for all within the lifts of our country, we might justly be accounted, as in former times, both imprudent and improvident, if we will yet sit with our armes foulded in our bosomes, and not rather seeke after such adventures whereby the glory of God may be advanced, the territories of our kingdome enlarged, our people both preferred and employed abroad, our wants supplied at home, his Majestie's customes wonderfully augmented, and the honour and renown of our nation spread and propagated to the ends of the world. Many examples might be produced to moove us hereunto, but because they were the practises of rude

and barbarous people, they are no examplarie presidents for christians; but forasmuch as every example approved in the Scripture is a precept, I thought good to handle this conference between the tribe of Joseph, a family in the Israel of God, and Joshua a faithfull and godly Prince over the whole commonwealth of God's Israel; which, to my seeming, is much like that plot, which we have now in hand for Virginia; for here the people of Ephraim and of the halfe tribe of Manasses are a great people, and so are we: and by reason of the multitude of this people the land is too narrow for them: and so stands our case; whereupon they repaire to Joshua to have his warrant and direction to enlarge their borders; and so have many of our noblemen of honourable minds, worthy knights, rich marchants and diverse other of the best disposition solicited our Joshua and mightie Monarch, that most religious and renowned King James, that by his Majestie's leave they might undertake the plantation of Virginia. Lastly, as Joshua not only gives leave, but also a blessing to the children of Joseph in their enterprises, so hath our gracious Sovereign granted his free Charter to our people for the undertaking of their intended enterprise and adventure: so that from this example there is both sufficient warrant for our King to graunt his charter for the plantation of Virginia, and suffi-

cient warrant also for our people to undertake the same. And therefore for the better satisfying of some, and for the encouraging of all sortes of people concerning the project for Virginia, let us more fully examine the particulars of this discourse between the children of Joseph and Joshua. First, we gather from the text, that the cause why the children of Joseph desired to enlarge their borders was the multitude and greatnesse whereunto they were growne. God had blessed them, according to the prophesie of Jacob, *Gen.* 48, 19. So that the portion which was first thought to be roome and large enough for them is now too narrow and little for them. What should they do in this case? should they provide and establish lawes to hinder the increase of their people, as we read of Hyppodamus, sometime a law-giver amongst the Milesians, whose example in government Aristotle, in his 7 booke of Politicks and 16 chapter, and Plato, in his booke *De legibus*, have drawne into precept and rule of policie? should they decree against building and erecting houses, limiting a certaine number and no more for every familie in their tribe, as Phydo amongst the Corinthians sometimes did, and as they of Paris of late enacted, taking order that old and ancient houses should be repayred and no new edifices erected, Anno 1548? should they have pestered themselves with

inmates, and one household have received into it two or three families? They put none of these in practise, but with one consent they repaire to the Magistrate, they complaine that their lot is not large enough, and they shew the reason, because they are a great people.

There is nothing more dangerous for the estate of common-wealths, then when the people do increase to a greater multitude and number then may justly parallell with the largeness of the place and countrey; for hereupon comes oppression and diverse kinde of wrongs, mutinies, sedition, commotion, and rebellion, scarcitie, dearth, poverty, and fundry sortes of calamities, which either breed the conversion, or eversion of cities and common-wealths. For even as blood, though it be the best humour in the body, yet if it abound in greater quantitie then the state of the body will beare, doth indanger the bodie, and oftentimes destroyes it; so, although the honour of the King be in the multitude of people, *Pro.* 14, 28, yet when this multitude of people increaseth to over great a number, the common-wealth stands subject to many perillous inconveniences: for which cause many nations perceyving their people to increase above a due and proportionable number, they have sent their overflowing multitudes abroad into other countreyes and provinces, to the ende they might

preserve their owne in greater peace and prosperitie: so we see ye husbandman deale with his grounds when they are overcharged with cattell; he remooves them from one ground to another, and so he provideth well both for his cattell and his ground: and so doth the maister of the bee-garden, when he sees a hive pestered with multitudes of bees, he drives ye hive, and so reapeth a greater gaine by his waxe and honie.

And hereupon many states-men have thought nothing more profitable for populous common-wealths then to have forreigne and externe warres, to the ende that thereby the superfluous braunches might be cut off. This was the cause why Scipio, when he had conquered Carthage, would not have it utterly ruined, least, saith he, the Romans, having no warres abroad, moove civill warres amongst themselves at home. Others, seeing the multitude of their people increase, have planted colonies with them: others have banished them into remote countries; and the children of Joseph here, being pestered with multitude, come to Joshua to be directed and relieved. This should teach us of this kingdome and countrey prudence and providence: the Lord hath blessed us, and we are growne to be a great people, so that one lot is not sufficient for us. Our multitudes, like too much blood in the body, do infect our countrey with

plague and povertie : our land hath brought forth, but it hath not milke sufficient in the breast thereof to nourish all those children which it hath brought forth : it affordeth neither employment nor preferment for those that depend upon it. And hereupon it is that many serviceable men give themselves to lewd courses, as to robbing by the high way and cofoning, fharking upon the land, piracie upon the sea, and so are cut off by shamefull and untimely death : others live prophanely, riotously, and idely, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, [and] the detriment of the common-wealth.

Now, our case standing thus, it behooveth everie one to devise a remedie for this misery. When there was no bread in Canaan, Jacob and his familie sought in Egypt for corne to relieve themselves. And Jacob, seeing his sonnes destitute of counsel in that extremity, did sharply reprehend them for the dissolute managing of their present estate, saying, "Why gaze ye one upon another? Behold, I have heard there is food in Egypt: get ye down thither, and buy us food thence, that we may live." Even so may it be said to a companie of people in this land, which doe nothing but gaze one upon another, destitute of counsell, advise and meanes, how to provide justly and honestly for their maintenaunce. They heare of honourable projects abroad, they heare of

employment and preferment, they heare of plentie and abundance of many good things, of which a fruitful country largely makes offer unto them : they heare of gaine and profite both to them and their posteritie ; they heare many honourable men, many worthie wife men, many valiaunt and courageous men, many rich and wealthie men, adventure their persons, their money, their ships, toward the accomplishing of so godly and memorable a designe, and yet they sit still following their intemperauncie, incontinencie, and other their luxurious and riotous courses, to the high dishonour of Almighty God, to the great hurt of the common-wealth, and to their owne everlasting shame and ignomie. If an honourable death were set before a vertuous minde, it would chuse rather to die heroically, than live opprobriously. What then shall wee thinke of those persons who, having an honourable life set before them, doe yet chuse rather to live in idleneffe, dishonestie, and obscenitie ? Surely they are of degenerate and dung-hill mindes, neither are they worthy to be nourished in the bosome of a wel governed common-wealth. It was for ever a blemish to the honour and credit of Ulysses, because he feigned himselfe mad, and sowed salt in steed of corne in his field, onely that by such a shift he might keepe himselfe at home, and not go with the Grecians to the siege of Troy. So, let

perpetuall shame and dishonour attend upon all those, which, doting upon their wealth, or suffeting upon their pleasures, finde delaies and devise shifts either to save their purses, or their persons from such honourable and profitable disignments as offer probable likelyhoods of future good to this our countrey or common-wealth.

Thus wee have heard the dutie of the people, which is prudently and providently to consult with the magistrates concerning the disburdening and discharging of such unnecessarie multitudes as pester a common-wealth, and also to further such enterprises, either with their purses or their persons, as make to the same ende. Now, the next in place, we are to note the direction of Joshua upon the afore-said complaint of the children of Joseph, which is to enlarge their territories, and dilate their borders by destroying God's enemies, the Perizzites and Giants, which inhabited the valleyes, bordering upon Mount Ephraim, which were most abominable Idolaters, and had no knowledge of the true and onely God : from whence we may learne how odious those people are in the sight of God, which, having no knowledge of him and his worship, give that honour to the insensible and unreasonable creature which is onely due to the Omnipotent and Almightye Creator. For this cause hath Almightye God overthrown the

mightiest Monarchies in the world ; for this cause did he disperse his owne Israel among the nations, and never vouchsafed them to returne againe into their owne land. David, by way of propheticie, doth promise a blessing to those that shall take the children of Idolatrous Babilonians and dash them against the stones ; and they that have taken armes against such people are said to fight the Lord's battells. Saul had his kingdom rent from him and his posteritie, because he spared Agag, that Idolatrous King of the Amalechites, whom God would not have spared : so acceptable a service is it to destroy Idolaters, whom God hateth ; but forasmuch as God doth not delight in blood, but rather that a sinner should convert and live, agreeable unto which is that speech of our Saviour Christ in the Gospell, " There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth ;" it is far more commendable, and out of doubt more acceptable unto God to reclaime an Idolater, unless wee have a speciall commandment of God to the contrarie, as Saul had then to destroy him, to win him to the faith then to deprive him of life, and to bring him to the knowledge of God, and whom he hath sent, Christ Jesus, rather then to kill them in their ignorance, and so to bring them into danger both of bodie and soule, for they that turne many unto righteousnesse shall shine as starres for evermore. *Dan.* 12, 3.

Paul calls those whom he had won to the faith of Christ, his crowne, his joy, his glorie. 1 *Theffa.* 2, 19, 20; as though they were the matter of his joy, of his crowne, and of his glorie. Happie therefore, is he that hath an hand in turning any unto God. And he that will finde delaie whereby so gracious a worke may be hindered is not with God, but against God, forasmuch as he hinders the building up of the kingdome of God.

And surely so desirous is man of civill societie by nature, that he easily yields to discipline and government, if he see any reasonable motive to induce him to the same. For we reade of certaine people in Affrica, inhabiting the mountaine of Magnan, which oftentimes do constrainne strangers which travell that way to take the government of them, and to impose lawes unto them, whereby they may be justly and orderly governed; and many nations willingly submitted themselves to the subjection of the Romanes, being allured thereunto by justice, equitie, clemencie, and upright dealing of the Roman captaines: for it is not the nature of men, but the education of men which make them barbarous and uncivill, and therefore chaunge the education of men, and you shall see that their nature will be greatly rectified and corrected. Seeing, therefore, men by nature so easily yielde to discipline and government upon any reason-

able shewe of bettering their fortunes, it is everie man's dutie to travell both by fea and land, and to venture, either with his perfon or with his purfe, to bring the barbarous and favage people to a civill and Chriftian kinde of government, under which they may learne how to live holily, juftly, and foberly in this world, and to apprehend the meanes to fave their foules in the world to come, rather than to deftroy them, or utterly to roote them out: for a wife man, but much more a Chriftian, ought to trie all meanes before they undertake warre: divaftation and depopulation ought to be the laft thing which Chriftians fhould put in praftife. Yet forasmuch as everie example in the fcripture, as I faide, is a precept, we are warranted by this direftion of Jofhua to deftroy wilfull and convicted Idolaters, rather than to let them live, if by no other meanes they can be reclaimed.

The report goeth, that in Virginia the people are favage and incredibly rude: they worfhip the divell, offer their young children in facrifice unto him, wander up and downe like beafts, and in manners and conditions differ very little from beafts; having no art nor fcience, nor trade to imploy themselves, or give themselves unto; yet by nature loving and gentle and defirous to imbrace a better condition. Oh! how happy were that man which could reduce

this people from brutishnes to civilitie, to religion, to Christianitie, to the saving of their soules ! happy is that man and blest of God, whom God hath endued either with meanes or will to attempt this busines. But farre be it from the nature of the English to exercise any bloudie crueltie amongst these people : farre be it from the hearts of the English to give them occasion, that the holy name of God should be dishonoured among the Infidels, or that in the plantation of that continent they should give any cause to the world to say, that they fought the wealth of that countrie above or before the glorie of God, and the propagation of his kingdome.

I remember the practise of Christopher Collumbus, which he used amongst the West Indians, to perswade them to receive his Spaniardes to societie and commerce ; which was, he observed that they were superstitiously given to worship the Moone, and by the skill he had in astronomie he foresaw that within three daies the Moone should be eclipsed : whereupon he called them together, and told them that he had often used his best meanes to bring them to a civill and friendly converse with strangers ; but they would not harken unto him, and therefore, in the presence of them all, he called upon the Moone to revenge such a barbarous people, which denied strangers to converse and commerce with them. Within three

dayes after the Moone was much darkened by reason of the eclipse, which when the Indians saw, they thought the Moone to be angrie with them, and fearing some plague would proceede from her displeasure, they were easily induced to doe whatsoever Columbus would have them. In like manner should all men use their wits in the first place, and weapons should always be the last meanes in all our projects. And therefore, although the children of Joseph have an expresse commaundement here in this place to destroy those Idolators and possesse their land, yet forasmuch as wee have no precept but by example, wee must first trie all meanes before weapons, and when we take them into our hands, necessitie of preserving our owne lives must rather move us to destroy the enemies of God, then either ambition or greedinesse of gaine, or crueltie, or anie private respect whatsoever.

Now, the third thing which we are to observe, in this entercourse of wordes betweene the children of Joseph and Josua, is the delayes which the people use, and the excuses which they feigne, which seeme to import an impossibilitie in the undertaking of Josua's direction. And their delayes are, that the Chanaanites were strong and well provided of warlike munition, both for their owne defence, and also for the defence of those which would undertake to

supplant or invade them : they had yron charets, and such like muniments of warre, so that it stood not with wisdom to make an invasion with likelihood to make a conquest of them. This is the nature of madde and earthly spirits, to finde delays and forge excuses in matters of least difficultie : Man sayeth, " A lion is without, I shall be slaine in the streete." *Prov.* 22, 13. What flanders did the ten spies bring upon the land of Canaan ! which flanders the Israelites made good grounds for their retiring back to Egypt, and thought them lawfull excuses for them to murmur against Moses and Aaron. Hanibal had much ado to bring his Carthaginians into Italy ; they alledged the tediousnesse of the voyage, and the inaccessible passage of the Alpes. We read of Caligula, sometimes Emperor of Rome, that he on a time condemned a certain citizen's sonne of Rome to be executed, and he sent for his father to see his sonne's execution. The father, to excuse his absence, feigned himselfe to be sick, wherupon the Emperor sent him his horse-litter, and by that meanes tooke away from him all colour of excuse. This perplexed father had good cause to finde delays to keep him at home ; but they that forge cavils to withdraw themselves from such attempts whereby God may be honored, the majestie and royaltie of their King advanced, the common-wealth enriched

and posteritie provided for, would not be drawne to these attempts in Caligula's horflitter, for that is too easie meanes to draw on such backward spirits; neither would I have them punished for their delays as Tullus Hostilius sometimes punished Metius Suffetius for his delays; but I would some Diomedes would finde out a meanes to drawe them on to this enterprife by discovering their driftes and excuses, for all that they can alleage for their backwardnesse is most idle and frivolous.

The first objection is, by what right or warrant we can enter into the land of these savages, take away their rightful inheritance from them, and plant ourselves in their places, being unwronged or unprovoked by them. Some affirme, and it is likely to be true, that these savages have no particular proprietie in any part or parcell of that countrey, but onely a generall residencie there, as wild beafts have in the Forrest, for they range and wander up and downe the countrey without any law or government: being led only by their owne lusts and sensualitie, there is not *meum et tuum* amongst them; so that, if the whole lande should be taken from them, there is not a man that can complaine of any particular wrong done unto him.

But the answer to the aforesaid objection is, that there is no intendment to take away from them by

force that rightfull inheritaunce which they have in that countrey; for they are willing to entertaine us, and have offered to yeelde into our handes, on reasonable conditions, more lande then we shall bee able this long time to plant and manure: and, out of all question, uppon easie composition with them wee may have as much of their countrey yeelded unto us by lawfull graunt from them as wee can or will desire. So that wee goe to live peaceablie among them, and not to supplant them: wee desire not, neither do wee intend, to take anie thing from them *ex pacto et jure fœderis*, but to compound with them for that wee shall have of them: and surelie, except succeſſion and election, there cannot bee a more lawfull entrance to a kingdome then this of ours.

Moreover, all Politicians doe with one consent holde and maintaine, that a Christian King may lawfullie make warre uppon barbarous and savage people, and such as live under no lawfull or warrantable government, and may make a conquest of them, so that the warre be undertaken to this ende, to reclaime and reduce those savages from their barbarous kinde of life, and from their brutish and ferine manners to humanitie, pietie, and honestie. Lip. *lib.* 5 *pol.* ca. 8. Casman *in pol.* cap. 8. Keckerm *lib.* 7 *pol.* pag. 124. And Lipsius alledged Saint Augustine for prooffe hereof, whose wordes are these: *Qui*

licentia iniquitatis eripitur, utiliter vinciter. Those people are vanquished to their unspeakable profite and gaine, which by conquest are abridged of the libertie, sinne and impietie. And the same Saint Augustine hath an other golden saying to this purpose. *Apud veros Dei cultores etiam illa bella peccata non sunt quæ non cupiditate et crudelitate, sed pacis studio geruntur, ut mali coerceantur et boni subleventur:* Amongst the true worshippers of God even that warre is lawfull, which is undertaken, not for covetousnesse or crueltie, but for peace and unities' sake, so that lewde and wicked men may thereby be suppressed, and good men maintained and relieved: whereby we see that both in the opinion of Politicians, and also by the judgement of Augustine himselfe, we might lawfullie make warre uppon the savages of Virginia, our project having the endes aforesaid. And therefore let everie man that is, or will be, an adventurer in this plantation examine his whole heart, and if he finde that hee is drawne to partake in this businesse, to draw the savages from their barbarous kinde of life to a more civill, honest, and Christian kinde of life, let him not doubt of the lawfulnessse of it, but let him cheerefully and liberally put his helping hand to this businesse.

Secondly, they reason of the future events by those that are already past. And seeing it is above

twentie yeares agoe since this attempt was begun, and yet no good hath come of it, nor little hope of any, they holde it an unvised course to set the same attempt on foote againe: which objection of theirs is very sufficientlie answered in that booke intituled *Nova Britannia*. And indeed most childish is this objection, for neither was the end of the first attempt the same with the end of this, nor the meanes, nor the managing of the meanes of this attempt sembla-ble with the former; and therefore in all likelihood the event of this cannot be judged by the event of the former.

Their second objection is, that this age will see no profit of this plantation; which objection, admit it were true, yet it is too brutish, and bewraies their neglect and incurious respect of posteritie: we are not borne like beasts for our selves, and the time present only; but besides manie other things which may challenge an interest and right in us, posteritie and the age yet ensuing have not the least part in our life and labours. What benefit or comfort should we have enjoyed in the things of this world, if our forefathers had not provided better for us, and been more carefully respective of posteritie then for themselves? We sow, we set, we plant, we build, not so much for our selves as for posteritie: we practise the workes of Godlines in this life, yet shall

we not see the end of our hope before we enjoy it in the world to come : it is a blessed thing to be blessed of posteritie. It was the rejoycing of the Virgin Marie, that from thenceforth all generations should call her blessed. They that do not provide for eternitie can have no assured hope of eternitie, and they which only are for themselves shall die in themselves, and shall not have a name among posteritie : their rootes shall be dried up beneath, and above shall their branch be cut downe ; their remembrance shall perish from the earth, and they shall have no name in the streete. *Job* 18, 16, 17. But the remembrance which a good man leaves behind him is like the composition of the perfume, that is made by the art of the Apothecary : it is sweet as honie in all mouthes, and as musicke at a banquet of wine : let it not grieve thee, therefore, to plant and build for posteritie, for the memorie of the just shall bee blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot. *Prov.* 10. 7.

Others object to the continuall charges which will proove, in their opinion, very heavie and burdensome to those that shall vndertake the said plantation. These, like the dog in the manger, neither eate hay themselves, neither will they suffer the oxe that would. They never think any charges too much that may in any way increase their owne private estate. They have thousands to bestow about the

ingroffing of a commoditie, or upon a morgage, or to take their neighbours house over his head, or to lend upon usurie; but if it come to a publicke good, they grone under the least burden of charges that can bee required of them. These men would bee used like sponges: they must be squeased, seeing they drinke up all, and will yeeld to nothing, though it concerne the common good never so greatly. But it is demonstratively proved in *Nova Britannia*, that the charges about this Plantation will be nothing in comparifon of the benefit that will grow thereof. And what notable thing, I pray you, can be brought to passe without charges? The things of this world are appointed unto man with such conditions, as there may no profit accrew unto him without paine, nor no gaine without charge: Hiel will built Jericho, though the foundation of it cost him his eldest sonne, and the setting up of the gates cost him his youngest sonne: Haman wil have his wicked desire upon the Jewes, though it cost him ten thousand talents. So little doe the wicked respect charges about the affecting of their malicious or vaigneglorious attempts, condemning those that professe pietie and religion, which for saving charges neglect, and often times suffer most honorable and profitable projects to faile and fall to the ground. Without question, hee that saves his money, where Gods glory is to be ad-

vanced, Christian religion propagated and planted, the good of the Commonwealth increased, and the glorious renowne of the King enlarged, [i]s subject to the curse of Simon Magus, his monie and he are in danger to perish together. Let none therefore finde delaies, or faine excuses to withhold them from this imployment for Virginia, seeing every opposition against it is an opposition against God, the King, the Church, and the Commonwealth.

Now, in the last place, let us heare the answere of Joshua to the excuses of the children of Joseph, and his answere is an exhortation, that instead of delaies, they would use art and industrie in this enterprise which they were to undertake—art in cutting downe the trees and making the countrie champion; industrie by taking paines to conquer and cast out those Idolatrous Cananites, and to plant themselves in their places. From whence we are to gather, that for this present businesse of plantation in Virginia, there must bee speciall choice and care had of such persons as shall bee sent thither. Nature hath emptied her selfe in bestowing her richest treasure upon that countrie; so that if art and industrie be used as helpes to Nature, it is likely to proove the happiest attempt that ever was undertaken by the English. And forasmuch as of all humane artes, political government is the chiefeest, there must be a

speciall care in the Magistrate how to carry himselfe in his place and order, for herein consists the verie maine matter of the successe of this businesse. As, therefore, the magistrate hath the eminencie of dignitie conferred upon him by his Prince, so must he furnish himselfe with eminencie of vertue ; for he shal the better containe others within the bounds and limits of honestie and godlinesse, if he first be able to containe himselfe. *Mala anima male imperat. Plato 1. de legibus.* A magistrate, therefore, must have a good conscience towards God, and he must also have a loving affection towards those over whom hee hath the government. Concerning the conscience that a magistrate must carrie towards God, he must so watch over himselfe, that at no time he burst forth into any notorious vice, nor suffer himselfe to be stained with the imputation of any enormous crime ; for the vices of men are holden so much the greater, by how much the greater the majestie is of the partie delinquent : the blemishes of Princes are deformities, and diminutive sins in thē are sins of the highest nature. Again : he that is in place of government must know that his example prevailes much with those that are under his government, so that he shall rule his subjects better by his good example of life, then by all the lawes and statutes that hee can make. Lastly, a magistrate must know that the moderne

times doe not onely behold him, but that he is subject also to the view of succeeding posteritie; and therefore Tacitus doth advise princes, *lib. 4 Ann.*, to beware by all meanes that they give no occasion to chroniclers to publish their leaud and wicked actions. Concerning his loving affection towards his subjects, his first care must be that he alwaies seeke the publike good of his subjects above his owne private profit: to which purpose the Emperour Adrian was wont to say, *Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret populi rem esse non propriam.* The example of Alexander the Great is most memorable for this purpose, who, leading his souldiers through the dry and wide places of India, had almost lost his whole armie for water. At the last, one of his souldiers found out the river Oxus, and brought the king water to quench his thirst; but the king powred the water upon the ground before all his souldiers and would not drinke it, speaking these words: *Ego bibam? et reliqui sitient?* and when he and his whole armie came to the river, hee would not drink before all his souldiers had quenched their thirst; giving thereby all princes to understand that they should provide for the good of their people before their owne good. Thus, in conscience towards God, and in affection towards his subjects, ought a prince to stand affected. And if he stand so affected, he will

punish such as are vild and vitious, and he will advance such as are vertuous and well disposed: he will incourage the painefull and industrious, and he will correct the idle and dissolute: he will establish true religion, and he will repress herefies and schismes: he will releve the weake and impotent, and he will suppress the mutinous and insolent; so that God will give a blessing, and all things will prosper under his government.

And for as much as no policie can stand long without religion, a chiefe care must be had of sufficient, honest, and sober minded Ministers to teach and instruct the people, both by their life and doctrine, in their dutie to God, and obedience to their rulers. When the tribe of Dan went to plant themselves in Laish, they took a Levite with them to bee a father and a priest unto them: Micah thought that the Lord would be better unto him because he had a Levite in his house. Neither do I ever reade of any that ever attained to any government, of what religion soever they were, but their first care was to provide fit persons which might teach the people religion and divine worship: and, therefore, if this plantation should be undertaken without this care, there were small hope of any good successe to come thereof. And as the minister, being a subject, must yeeld his obedience to the magistrate, so the magistrate must bee

carefull to yeeld him countenance to keepe him from neglect, and maintenance to incourage him in his ministry. And it must be specially foreseene of the ministers that they resist Poperie; for as it doth infect the mind with errour, so it doth infect the manners of men with disloyaltie and treachery: and, lastly, they must labour to preserve the unitie of spirit in the bond of peace; for if they once jarre or dissent among themselves, they open a gappe to schisme and contempt of religion. Policie thus establishing religion, and religion guiding policie, provision must be made of men furnished with arts and trades most necessarie for this busines: artificers and tradesmen must be nourished and cherished, for without artificers and tradesmen a commonwealth cannot flourish nor endure; and therefore the magistrate must specially regard them and respect them, and they must so carrie themselves that they may be respected and cherished of the magistrate. It is required at their hands that they be faithfull, painefull and honest in their callings; for if they be thus qualified, the countrie it selfe will make them rich. Every trade hath his mystery, which is, for the most part, grounded upon deceit and fraud; but seeing the beginning of a common wealth is now attempted, the foundation must not bee laid upon fraud and deceit, for there can no good end be expected of an

evill beginning. It is required likewise, that they be painefull in their trades, or else the commonwealth can have little use or comfort of them. And here our English tradesmen and artificers are to be advised, that they be warie in taking the savages to bee apprentices to teach them their trade, seeing there be meanes of imployment sufficient besides to set many thousands on worke; and therefore not necessarie as yet to instruct them in our trades and mysteries.

Besides all this, industrie must be also added to helpe Arte and Nature, so that such as have no professed artes and trades must painefully employ themselves in some labour or other, to the furthering of this Plantation: a drone will in short space devoure more hony than the bee can gather in a long time; and therefore the magistrate must correct with all sharpenesse of discipline those unthriftie and unprofitable drones which live idly: for there is a law given to the sonnes of Adam to labour, and to the daughters of Eve with the sweate of their browes to get their living; and, therefore, it is an Evangelicall precept, that they which will not labour must not eate. In Job's time, there was a very strict order taken for such as lived idely. *Job* 30, 5. "They were chased forth from among men, and every one shownted at them as at a theefe": and surely such an order must bee taken with those that will not live painefully in

Virginia, the rather because meate and drinke, and such other necessarie supplies of livelihood will be very precious there a while ; and, therefore, order had more neede be taken that such provision be not consumed by unserviceable loytering companions.

Laftly, all degrees and sorts of people which have prepared themselves for this plantation must be admonished to preserve unitie, love, and concord, amongst themselves ; for by concord small things increase and growe to great things, but by discord great things soone come to nothing. Agefilaus being demaunded why the citie of Sparta was not compassed about with walles for the better defence and safetie of the citie, he shewed unto the demandant the citizens and souldiers of Sparta, all of them living and agreeing together in firm concord and unitie : “ These,” saith Agefilaus, “ are the walles of Sparta.” And out of question so it is : concord and good agreement amongst comhabitants is a more sure defence than walles or castles, or any other warlike munition whatsoever. Therefore, if any mutinous or seditious person dare adventure to moove any matter which may tend to the breach of concord and unitie, he is presently to be suppressed, as a most dangerous enemy to the state and government there established.

Now, all these particulars being already, not onely

concluded upon, but also provided for by the godly care of the counsell and adventurers of Virginia, I have presumed onely to advise, being out of doubt that they will be as carefully performed, as they are already wisely and religiously determined. And thus far have I presumed, in my love to the adventurers and liking to the enterprise, to deale in this businesse, praying as much good success to them, and it, as their owne hearts can desire, hoping to see their expectation satisfied, and the glory of England as much increased by this their honourable attempt, as ever was the Romane Empire by the enterprises of her greatest Emperours; forrowing with my selfe that I am not able, neither in person, nor purse, to be a partaker in the businesse.

FINIS.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS is a curious, and, as far as we know, a unique specimen of love-literature of about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. We cannot fix the date of it with any precision, for the printer placed none upon the title-page, nor in any other part of the performance: we may conjecture that it came out about the year 1580, when Richard Jones was in full business, and when he was producing many publications, in prose and verse, adapted to the gratification of the middle and lower orders. For such persons these patterns of not very well penned, or well studied, appeals of affection and disappointment must have been intended. They belong especially, and peculiarly, to the class of our popular literature.

They profess to have been contributed by a lady who subscribes her name Is. W.; by a gentleman who uses the initials W. G.; and by a third contributor, a gentleman also, who puts part of his name as R. Witc. at the close of the fourth piece. We are unable to assign any of them with even remote probability; and as Ritson omits them, we can derive no assistance from his *Bibliographia Poetica*. Three of the productions have been mentioned (*Restituta*, I, 234), but no notice whatever has been taken

of the fourth, which is certainly more meritorious than what precedes it: when R. Witc. says in one place,—

“ I thrust my hand among the thornes,
 in hope the rose to finde ;
 I prickt my hand, and eke my hart,
 yet left the rose behinde ;”

we feel inclined to think that he could have done better, had more time been allowed. The whole reads like a production merely of the day, and for the day; and it was printed in such haste, that Richard Jones, or Johnes, the typographer, mis-spelt his own name in the colophon. In the last stanza on page 16, the measure is clearly defective, but we have not ventured to correct it, nor indeed any other blunders, excepting, here and there, by the insertion of a letter between brackets. All the classical allusions were the then common property of song and ballad-writers; and we have little doubt that Elderton, Deloney, Munday, or some other popular scribbler, put the pamphlet together for the sake of a few shillings obtained from the printer. It is only not a chap-book by assuming the more dignified form of a 4to.

J. P. C.

The Copy of a letter,
lately written in meeter,

by a yonge Gentilwoman: to

her unconstant Lover.

With an Admonition to al yong
Gentilwomen, and to all other
Mayds in general to beware
of mennes flattery.

By If. W.

Newly joyned to a Loveletter sent by a
Bachelor, (a most faithfull Lover) to an
unconstant and faithles Mayden.

Imprinted at London, by Richarde Jhones
dwelling in the upper end of Fleetlane:
at the Signe of the spred Egle.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

WHAT lack you, Maister mine ?
some trifle that is trew ?
Why, then this fame wil serue your turne,
the which is also new.

Or yf you minde to reade
some fables that be fained,
Buy this fame Booke, and ye shall finde
such in the fame contained.

Perchaunce my wordes be thought
incredible to you,
Because I say this Treatise is
both false and also true.

The matter of it felfe
is true, as many know ;
And in the fame some fained tales
the Auctor doth bestow.

Therefore, bye this fame Booke
of him that heere doth dwell,
And you (I know) wyll say you have
bestowed your mony well.

FAREWELL.

I. W.

TO HER UNCONSTANT LOVER.

AS clofe as you your wedding kept,
yet now the trueth I here,
Which you (yer now) might have me told :
what nede you, nay, to fwere ?

You know I alwayes wilht you wel,
fo wyll I during lyfe ;
But fith you fhall a husband be,
God fend you a good wyfe.

And this (where fo you fhall become)
full boldly may you boaft,
That once you had as true a Love,
as dwelt in any coaft.

Whofe conftantneffe had never quaild,
if you had not begonne ;
And yet it is not fo far paff,
but might agayne be wonne,

If you fo would ; yea, and not change
fo long as lyfe fhould laft :
But yf that needes you marry muft,
then farewell : hope is paff.

And if you cannot be content
to lead a single lyfe,
(Although the same right quiet be)
then, take me to your wife.

So shall the promises be kept
that you so firmly made.
Now, chuse you whether ye will be true,
or be of SINONS trade.

Whose trade, if that you long shall use,
it shall your kindred stayne :
Example take by many a one,
whose falsehood now is playne.

As by ENEAS, first of all,
who dyd poore DIDO leave,
Causing the Quene by his untrueth
with sword her hart to cleave.

Also I finde that THESEUS did
his faithfull love forsake,
Stealyng away within the night,
before she dyd awake.

JASON that came of noble race
two Ladies did begile :
I muse how he durst shew his face
to them that knew his wile.

For when he by MEDEAS arte
 had got the Fleece of Gold,
And also had of her that time
 al kynd of things he wolde,

He toke his ship and fled away ;
 regarding not the vowes
That he did make so faithfully
 unto his loving spowes.

How durst he trust the furing seas,
 knowing himselfe forfworne ?
Why dyd he scape safe to the land,
 before the ship was torne ?

I think king Aeolus stayd the winds,
 and Neptune rulde the sea ;
Then might he boldly passe the waves :
 no perils could him flea.

But if his falsehed had to them
 bin manifest befor,
They wold have rent y^e ship, as soone
 as he had gon from shore.

Now may you heare how falsenes is
 made manyfest in time,
Although they that commit the same
 think it a veniall crime.

For they for their unfaithfulnes
did get perpetuall fame :
Fame ? wherefore dyd I terme it so ?
I should haue cald it shame.

Let Theseus be, let Jafon passe ;
let Paris also scape,
That brought destruction unto Troy,
all through the Grecian Rape,

And unto me a Troylus be ;
if not you may compare
With any of these parsons that
above expressed are.

But if I can not please your minde
for wants that rest in me,
Wed whom you list : I am content
your refuse for to be.

It shall suffice me, simple foule,
of thee to be forsaken,
And it may chance, although not yet,
you wish you had me taken.

But rather then you shold have cause
to wish this through your wyfe,
I wish to her, ere you her have,
no more but losse of lyfe.

For she that shal so happy be
of thee to be elect,
I wish her vertues to be such,
she nede not be suspect.

I rather wish her HELENS face,
then one of HELENS trade,
With chastnes of PENELOPE,
the which did never fade.

A LUCRES for her constancy,
and THISBIE for her trueth :
If such thou have, then PETO be,
not PARIS ; that were rueth.

Perchance ye will think this thing rare
in on[e] woman to fynd :
Save Helens beauty, al the rest
the Gods have me affignd.

These words I do not speke, thinking
from thy true loue to turne thee :
Thou knowst by prof what I deserve ;
I nede not to informe thee.

But let that passe : would God I had
Cassandraes gift me lent ;
Then, either thy yll chaunce or mine,
my foresight might prevent.

But all in vayne for this I feeke,
 wisshes may not attaine it,
Therefore may hap to me what shall,
 and I cannot refraine it.

Wherfore I pray God be my guide,
 and also thee defend,
No worfer then I wish my selfe
 ontill thy lyfe shal end.

Which life, I pray God, may agayne
 King Nestors lyfe renew,
And after that your soule may rest
 amongst the heavenly crew.

Therto I wish King Xerxis wealth,
 or els King Creffus gould,
With as much rest and quietnesse
 as man may have on mould.

And when you shall this letter have,
 let it be kept in store ;
For she that sent the same hath fworn
 as yet to send no more.

And now farewell, for why at large
 my mind is here exprest,
The which you may perceive, if that
 you do peruse the rest.

THE ADMONITION BY THE AUCTOR, TO ALL YONG
GENTILWOMEN : AND TO AL OTHER
MAIDS BEING IN LOVE.

YE Virgins y^t from Cupids tentes
do beare away the foyle,
Whose hartes as yet with raginge loue
moft paynfully do boyle,

To you I speake ; for you be they
that good advice do lacke :
Oh ! if I could good counfell give,
my tongue should not be flacke.

But fuch as I can geve, I wyll
here in few wordes expresse,
Which if you do observe, it will
fome of your care redrefse.

Beware of fayre and painted talke,
beware of flattering tonges :
The mermaides do pretend no good,
for all their pleafant fongs.

Some use the teares of Crocodiles,
contrary to their hart ;
And yf they cannot alwayes weepe,
they wet their cheekes by art.

Ovid within the Arte of Love
doth teache them this fame knacke,
To wet their hand, and touch their eies,
so oft as teares they lacke.

Why have ye such deceit in store ?
have you such crafty wile ?
Lesse craft then this, God knows, wold soone
us simple foules begile.

And wyll ye not leave of, but still
delude us in this wile ?
Sith it is so, we trust we shall
take hede to fained lies.

Trust not a man at the fyrst sight,
but trye him well before :
I wish al Maids within their brefts
to kepe this thing in store ;

For triall shall declare his trueth,
and shew what he doth think,
Whether he be a lover true,
or do intend to shrink.

If SCILLA had not trust to much
before that she dyd trye,
She could not have ben clene forsake,
when she for help did crye.

Or yf she had had good advice,
Nifus had lived long :
How durst she trust a strainger, and
do her deare father wrong ?

King Nifus had a haire by fate,
which haire while he dyd kepe,
He never should be overcome,
neither on land nor depe.

The straunger that the daughter lou'd
did warre against the King,
And alwaies fought how y^t he might
them in subjection bring.

This Scylla stole away the haire
for to obtaine her wyll,
And gave it to the straunger that
dyd straight her father kyll.

Then she, who thought her self most sure
to have her whole desyre,
Was cleane reject, and left behind
when he did whom retyre.

Or if such falshood had ben once
vnto Oenone knowne,
About the fieldes of Ida wood
Paris had walkt alone.

Or if Demophoons deceite
to Phillis had ben tolde,
She had not ben transformed fo,
as Poets tell of olde.

Hero did trie Leanders truth
before that she did trust :
Therefore she found him unto her
Both constant, true, and just.

For he alwayes did swim the sea
when starres in skie did glide,
Till he was drowned by the way,
nere hand unto the side.

She scrat her face, she tare her heir
(it greeveth me to tell)
When she did know the end of him,
that she did love so well.

But like Leander there be fewe ;
therfore in time take heede,
And alwayes trie before you trust ;
so shall you better speede.

The little fish that carelesse is
within the water cleare,
How glad is he, when he doth see
a bayt for to appeare.

He thinks his hap right good to bee,
that he the fame could spie ;
And so the simple foole doth trust
to much before he trie.

O little fish ! what hap hadst thou
to have such spitefull fate,
To come into ones cruell hands,
out of so happy state !

Thou diddst suspect no harme, when thou
upon the bait didst looke :
O, that thou hadst had Linceus eies
for to have seene the hooke !

Then hadst thou w^t thy pretty mates
bin playing in the streames,
Wheras fyr Phebus dayly doth
shew forth his golden beames.

But sith thy fortune is so yll
to end thy lyfe on shore,
Of this thy most unhappy end
I minde to speake no more.

But of thy felowes chance, that late
such pretty shift did make,
That he from fishers hooke did sprint,
before he could him take.

And now he pries on every baite,
suspecting styll that pricke
(For to lye hid in every thing)
Wherewith the fishers stricke.

And since the fish that reason lacks
once warned doth beware,
Why should not we take hede to that
that turneth us to care.

And I, who was deceived late
by ones unfaithfull teares,
Trust now for to beware, if that
I live this hundreth yeares.

¶ FINIS. Is. W.

**A Loveletter, or
an earnest perswasion of a Lover,**

sent of late to a yonge Mayden
to whom he was betrothed.

Who afterward being overcome with flattery,
she seemd utterly to swerve from her
former promise without occasion,
and so to forsake
him.

By W. G.

A LOVELETTER,

SENT FROM A FAYTHFUL LOVER TO AN
UNCONSTANT MAYDEN.

As dutie wils, fo nature moves
thy frend these lines to wright,
Wherin thy fraude (O faithlesse thou !)
I minde to bring to light.

Can plighted faith, so firmly plight,
without desert be moved ?
Or should the man that faithfull is
so slenderly be loved ?

Should hate his guerdon thus remaine,
in place of thy good wyl ?
Should rigor raign within thy brest
to vanquish reasons skyll ?

Should faith to falshod so be changd ?
(alas) the greater ruthe,
When double dealing is preferd
before a perfect truethe !

Yf case such hap as recompence
unto your friend you yelde,
What bulwarke canst thou clayme
gainst Gods thy selfe to sheilde ?

Can they that fit in hauty Heavens
such covert guilt abyde ?
Or are they parcial now deemst thou ?
is Justice throwne a fyde ?

Nay, just are they, and justice styll
as just the[y] justly use,
And unto them as gilleffe then
canst thou thy self excuse ?

No, no, not so ; for they beholde
thy double deades, be sure :
No forged style, nor flatteryng phraze
their favour may allure.

No gifts, no golde can them corrupt
such justice there doth raigne,
And they that disobey their heastes
are subject unto payne.

These are no novel newes I tell,
the prooffe is playnly knowne :
To such as do offend their wils
their powre[s] forth are showne.

To see thy conscience guilty is
thy faithles frawde they see ;
And thinkste thou then this gilt of thine
can unrewarded bee ?

O faith ! think not so far to with
from reasons lymyts pure,
But judge thy selfe what justice they
to sinfull ones inure.

And thou thy selfe such domb shalt geve
as guilty thou shalt finde :
Therefore relent, and once agayne
thy grudging conscience minde.

Which unto Gods that sacred are
as guilty thee bewray :
In place of fraude, let faith and trueth
with thee now beare the fway.

Revoke and call to memory
the fruits of friendship showne :
Perpend in mind my torments strong,
my playnts and penfive mone,

Which fixe yeares long, as pacionate
to carpyng yoake of care,
I bod for thee, as thou thy selfe,
I know, canst wel declare.

Remember thou the plaints and teares
which I powrd foorth for thee,
And ponder well the sacred vow
that thou hast made to mee.

Which vow gave comfort to thy frend
that subiect ferved to grieve :
Thou gavest thy selfe a pledg to me,
thy faith was my releife.

But now what helysh hagge (alas !)
hath tournde thy love to hate ?
Or els what whelpe of HYDRAS kind
in thee hath wrought debate ?

Alas ! wilt thou dispoyle me quight
of my possessed joye ?
Or wilt yⁿ plunge me headlong thus
to gulphes of great annoye ?

Who would a thought (alas !)
such fraude to rest in thee ?
Who would have deemd withou[t] desert
thy hart should change from mee ?

Whose hart hath coucht his tent
within my covert brest,
And thine, I hopte, of me, thy friend,
likewise had been possrest.

But waveryng minds, I plainly see,
so compassed with guile,
Pretend by flights the perfect joyes
of frindes for to exile.

O! shuld a pratlyng Parasite so egge
thee with difdayne?

That thou the presence of thy friend
through flattery should refrayne?

Not vouching once to speake to him
whose hart thou hast in hold:
Sith likeing faine hath graunted grace,
should love so soone be cold?

Confider these my letters well,
and answer them agenne,
For I, thy friend, in covert zeale
this time hath clofd my penne.

Farewell, a dieu ten thousand times!
to God I thee commend,
Beseeching him his heavenly grace
unto thee styll to send.

¶ Thy friend in wealth, thy friend in woe,
Thy friend while life shal flytt me froe;
And whilst that thou enjoy your breath,
Leave not your friend unto the death;
For greater praise cannot be wonne,
Then to observe truelove begonne.

¶ FINIS. W. G.

¶ Imprinted at London, by
Richard Jhones.

R. W.

Against the wilfull Inconstancie of his deare Foe
E. T. Which example may justly be a sufficient
warnyng for all Yongmen to
beware the fained Fidelytie
of unconstant Maydens.

ALL youthful Wights at lyberty,
whom LOVE did never thrall,
I wish that my decay may bee
a warnyng to you all ;

That have a foare bred in my brest,
although it be not strange,
Yet wyll it bryng mee to the grave
without some sodaine change.

For I by fute have served one
two yeares, and somwhat more,
And now I can no longer serve,
My hart it is so fore.

Which hart I fet to Uferie,
through gredie fond desire,
Not doubting to receive home twain,
when I would them requyre.

But if that everie Uferer
 had fuch good hap as I,
There would not be fo many men
 would ufe this uferie.

My debtor hath deceyved mee,
 for she is from mee fled,
And I am left among the bryers
 to bryng a foole to bed.

So that I, feely man, remayne
 eche day in doubtfull cafe,
For DEATH doth dayly lye in wayte
 to reft me with his mace,

And caft mee into prifon ftrong :
 the doore is made of grafse,
And I might bles my houre of birth,
 if it were come to paffe.

For lo ! my carefull choyce doth choofe
 to keepe mee ftyll in thrall,
And doth regard my love no more
 then ftone that lyes in wall.

Wherby I fee that womens hartes
 are made of marble ftone :
I fee how carelefse they can bee
 When penfive men do mone.

I fowed both pure and perfect feede
on fayre and pleafant grounde,
In hope, though harveft brought fom pain,
fom profit might bee found.

But now the harveft ended is,
and for my faythfull feedes,
And all my payne and labour pafte,
I have nought els but weedes.

I thruft my hand among the thornes,
in hope the rofe to finde;
I prickt my hand, and eke my hart,
yet left the rofe behynde.

Not I, but many more, I knowe,
in love do lacke releefe,
But I, as caufe doth mee compell,
do wayle my payne and grieve.

I doubtleffe can not bee the firft
that love hath put to payne,
Nor yet I fhall not be the laft
that women wyll difdayne.

If I, poore wretch! fhould think upon
the paynes that I have pafte,
Or if I should recount the cares
that she hath made me tafte,

Into dispayre it would mee drive,
and cleave my hart in twaine,
Or els bereave me of my wittes
to thinke upon the payne.

I never spent one day in joye,
my carefull hart doth know,
Since first I lent my love to her
by whom my grieve doth growe.

There are no greater paynes assignd
for dampned ghostes in hell,
Then I do suffer for her sake
that I do love so well.

The pryce that I have paid for love
not many men do gyve,
But I my bargayne shall repent
as long as I do lyve.

I payde for love, and that full deare,
yet I receyve right nought :
I never was so much deceyved
in any thyng I bought.

If everie woman on her friend
suche pitie use to take,
Then shortly men wyll ron to love
as beares unto a stake.

But now let VENUS fire her forge,
Let CUPIDS shaft be sent,
They can no more encrease my woe,
for all my love is spent.

But here, good Reader, thou maist see
how Love hath paide my hyre,
To leave me burnyng in the flame,
compeld to blow the fyre.

But if that thou, good frende, desire
to lyve in happy state,
Then, seeke in time to shon mishap,
Repentance comes too late.

Frequent not womens company,
but see thou from them fwarve,
For thy rewarde shall be but smal,
what ever thou deserve.

Take heede, for thou maist come in thrall
before that thou beware,
And when thou art entangled once,
thou canst not flie the snare.

Take thou not this to be a jest,
but thinke it to be true,
Before thou proove, as I have done,
least prooffe do make thee rew.

Yet if thou chaunce to place thy love,
take heede what thou doest faie,
And see thou place thy talke in print,
or els beware a fraie.

And thus I ende, not doubtyng but
these wordes may well suffice
To warne thy gredie hart of harme,
And ease thy roving eyes.

Ease by Difease
hath made me to halt,
Time hath so turned
my Suger to Salt.

FINIS.

R. WITC.

¶ Imprinted at LONDON, by
RICHARD JOHNES.

INTRODUCTION.

WE never heard of the existence of more than two copies of this tract, so peculiarly interesting to the inhabitants of the metropolis: we have made use of one of them for our reprint. The author is the same Richard Johnson who published "Look on me London," in 1613, and who had commenced his literary career by "The Nine Worthies of London" in 1592.

It will be seen by those who refer to Stow's "Survey," as they may easily do by consulting the excellent edition of Mr. Thoms in 1842 (from the impression of 1603) that Johnson was mainly indebted to the old Annalist for the antiquarian information furnished respecting the early state of Moorfields. On p. 159 of Mr. Thoms's edition, or on p. 351 of Stow's first edition in 1598 and 1599, (for title-pages of different copies have both years) we read that Moorfields, as most people are aware, derived the name from that portion of the environs of London being anciently merely a morass, at certain seasons of the year, if not constantly, under water. Stow gives the dates of various improvements in the very words which Johnson, eight or nine years afterwards, repeated; but Stow did not live to witness, or, at all events, to record, the means resorted to by the citizens,

shortly before Johnson wrote, to complete what had been so well begun. Stow died on 5th April, 1605, just anterior to the laying out of the walks and making the plantations, which are the chief subjects of eulogy in the ensuing pages. The information may be said to be of a local character, but it is highly curious ; and if farther details be required, some few may be found in Stow's *Annales* by Howes, fol. 1631, p. 1021.

Of Johnson's style, we need say little : his object in the prose portion of his tract was only to convey information in a cheerful manner ; but in his verse he was more ambitious, though it does not rise to the excellence of his first effort, when he was an apprentice. Bibliographers have noted that Gough had seen an impression of the work here reprinted of 1617, which contained a poem called "London's Description." (Lowndes' *Bibl. Man.*, 1860, p. 1216.) First of all, there was no such impression ; and, secondly, the poem, as will be seen, belongs to the edition of 1607.

It does not appear what printer Henry Gosson, the publisher, employed ; but besides many false concords (some of them, perhaps, attributable to the author), the misprints are numerous : on p. 11, "lawes mirrour" is an error for "*land's* mirrour" ; and on p. 24, "freedomes and innimities" ought to have been "freedomes and *immunities*". "Civill," on p. 25, it will be seen at once, was meant for *Seville*, and so it was then not unfrequently printed. Wherever we have made any change, we have marked it by brackets.

THE
PLEASANT WALKES
OF
MOORE-FIELDS.

*Being the guift of two Sisters, now beautified,
to the continuing fame of this
worthy Citty.*



Printed at London for Henry Goffon, and are
to be fold at the Signe of the Sun
in Pater noster Row.

1607.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, THE

Knights and Aldermen of this Honorable

Citty of London.

THOSE fweet and delightfull walks of More fields (right worshipfull) as it seemes a garden to this Citty, and a pleasurable place of sweet ayres for Cittizens to walke in, now made most beautiful by your good worships appointment, hath emboldened me to search for the true antiquity thereof: and furthermore to satisfie the desires of many, I have given here a true light of the late glorie doone unto the same: and withall briefly fet downe a fewe notes of ancient recordes, of their beeing a kinde of morish ground in times past, and by whome, and in what maner they were brought to this beneficial use, together with manie other honors done to this citty. If your worships vouchsafe to thinke well of my labors, I attaine my wished hopes: so ending, I commit you all to the joy of your owne harts.

By your Worships to be commanded.

RICH. JOHNSON.



The pleasant Walkes of Moore fields.

The Speakers names in this discourse, a Country Gentleman, and a London Citizen.

Gentleman.

THIS Citty of London (sir), in my mind, both for antiquity and situation, may challenge glory with any citty in the world.

Cit. Most true (sir) ; for it is reported that *Brute*, lineally descended from the Demy-god *Aeneas*, son of *Venus*, daughter of *Jupiter*, about the yeare of the world 2855, and 1108 before the Nativity of Christ, builded this citty and named it *Troynovant*. But in proceffe of time, K. *Lud* not onely repayred it, but also increased the same with faire buildings, towers, and wals, and after his own name called it *Luds* towne ; and by corruption of speech, it is now called London : which king lyeth buried at a gate in the west part of the citty, which hee likewise built in the honor of his name, caling it *Ludgate*.

Gent. Since that time (I perceive) in every Prince's raigne it hath bin much beautified ; but of all pleasures that contents me, these sweet walkes of

Moore fieldes are the chiefeſt ; and the cauſers thereof deſerve much commendations.

Citi. Thoſe be the worthy Aldermen and Common-counſell of London, who, ſeeing the diſorder uſed in theſe fieldes, have beſtowed this coſt, and, as occaſion requires, intends further to beautifie the fame.

Gent. In ſo doing they purchaſe fame after death, and much pleaſure to poſterity : but to what uſe are theſe fieldes reſerved ?

Citi. Only for Cittizens to walke in, to take the ayre, and for Merchants' maides to dry clothes in, which want neceſſary gardens at their dwellings.

Gent. By whom was theſe fields given to the citty ?

Cit. Marry, ſir, by two mayds, the only daughters to Sir *William Fines*, a knight of the Rhodes, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor : who dying, left theſe fieldes of *Fines-berry*, after his owne name, to his two daughters, *Mary* and *Katharine* ; who, reſuſing the pleaſures of this world, betooke themſelves to a devout kind of life, and became two Nuns in the Monaſtery of Bedlem ; wher having ſpent their daies in the ſervice of God, at their death gave theſe aforeſaid fieldes to the Citty of London, for an eaſe to the Cittizens, and a place for their ſervants to dry clothes in, and likewiſe builded the two croſſes, the one at Bedlem gate, the other at Shore-dich.

Gent. These walkes (fir), as it seemes, beares the fashion of a crosse, equelly divided foure wayes, and likewise squared about with pleasant wals : the trees thereof makes a gallant shew, and yeeldes unto mine eye much delight.

Citizen. They may well; for the like border of trees are not at this day in al the land again, for they be in number within these walles two hundred, foure-score, and eleaven, beside those other standing west-ward without, to the number of some foure or five and thirtie.

Gent. I have heard that many of these trees doe carry proper names?

Citiz. According to the planting thereof they doe: and those which I remember so called, now stand on the west side within these walls : the first of them, at the corner of the middle walke west-ward, was first of all placed by Sir *Leonard Hollyday*, then Lord Maior; the next, on the corner north-ward, at the steppes comming downe, by a Captaine, being a gentleman of good reputation; the third by a citizen, and sonne to Sir *Leonard Hollyday*, which standeth next to his father's tree. There standeth neere unto that, a tree called the "Two Brothers," planted by two little boys, and sonnes to a citizen here in London; there is likewise a tree called the "Three Sisters," by the name of three maydens that set it;

and another the "Three Brothers." There is a tree, likewise, on the north-west corner, which I saw set up (called *Stubs* his tree) by one *Christopher Stubs*, one of the principal porters of Blackwell hall, a man well beloved, and of good credit. Many others were set up by our citizens, which I thinke needlesse to speake of, nor tell of the bountie they shewed to the worke-men at the planting of these same trees.

Gent. The charges hereof shew their liberall mindes; and no doubt but this field will be maintained, time out of minde, in as good order as it is nowe kept, for what you citizens meane to give glory to, neither cost nor care can be wanting. But I pray you how many akars may this plot of ground containe?

Citiz. Marry, fir, within the walles some ten akars, which was so measured out, and by a plough made levell, as it is now, a thing that never hath been seene before to goe so neere London.

Gent. But why are these stockes of wood here provided, with such a huge chaine of yron lockt to the wall?

Citiz. Onely as a punishment for those that lay any filthy thing within these fields, or make water in the same, to the annoyance of those that walke therein; which evil favors in times past have much

corrupted man's fences, and supposed to be a great nourisher of diseases.

Gent. That beares good reason, and the maner of this punishment I like well; and pitie it were, but it should be maintained, for it is one of the best things that ever your citie bestowed cost upon.

Citiz. The cost hereof they regard not; and the more they bestow hereon, the more honour they tye unto our citie, and the causers of these walkes hath deserved high commendations, making their posterities famous by these their deeds.

Gent. It seemes, they intend a further grace to these fields?

Citiz. Their purpose is not fully knowne, but surely their intents are inclined to bountifull proceedings; as I heare, the building of certaine houses for shelters for maidens having their clothes lying there a drying, if at any time it should chance to raine.

Gent. All England may take example at your London citizens, who not onely seeke for their owne benefites, but strive to profit others, shewing themselves good common-wealths men, and as they be called the Fathers of the Citie, so be they cherishers of the poore and succourlesse.

Citiz. If I should shew you the charitable deeds, of all our citizens now living, as of those in times

past, from one king's raigne to another, I should fill a large volume with antiquities; but I will briefly touch but onely such as concernes this our discourse of these walkes of Moorefieldes, and things pertinent to the same purpose.

Gent. But, I pray you, shewe me, sir, have they never bin otherwise used?

Citi. Yes, that they have, for time is often the overthrower of lawdable customes: for *Halle's Chronicle* setteth downe, that the inhabitants about London, as *Islington*, *Hogsdon*, *Shoreditch*, and others, before the raign of Henry the Eight, had so enclosed these fields, with hedges and ditches, that neyther the young men of this cittye might shoot, nor the ancient persons' walke for pleasure in these fields, but that either their bowes and arrowes were taken away or broken, or the citizens arested for walking, saying, that no Londoner ought to go out of the citie, but in the hye wayes. This so greeved the Londoners, that in the sixth yeare of King *Henrie* the Eight, a great number of the citie assembled themselves in a morning, and a Turner in a Foole's coat ran crying thorough the citie, Shovels and spades! shovels and spades! by which meanes followed so many people, that it was a wonder to behold, and within lesse than three hours all the hedges about the citie were cast downe, the ditches filled up,

and every thing made plaine; such was the quicknesse of these diligent workemen. After this the fields were never more hedged in.

Gent. The citizens, I perceive, ever carried gallant mindes, and to this day (I see) they continually strive to beautifie this famous citie; for what faire summer houses, with loftie towers and turrets, are here builded in these fields, and in other places the suburbs of the citie, not so much for use and profite, as for shewe and pleasure, bewraying the noblenesse of their mindes.

Citiz. Many of our ancient citizens, sir, have far more worthy dispositions, and chiefly delights in the repaying of hospitals, and building almes-houses for the poore; and therein employ their wits, spending their wealths to the common commoditie of this our citie.

Gent. You speake but truth, for London Cittizens are the lawes mirrour for charitable gifts. But of all other stately buildings, neere unto these fields, this beares the greatest shew, called "Fisher's Folly."

Citiz. It is, sir, a verie faire house indeede, large, and beautifull, incompast with many walkes and gardens of pleasure, builded by one *Jasper Fisher*, free of the Goldsmithes, late one of the fixe Clarkes of the Chancerie, and a Justice of Peace: it hath since for a time beene the Earle of *Oxford's* place;

our late Queene hath lodged there, and now it belongeth to Sir *William Cornewallis*.

Gent. This house (as I have heard), being so large and sumptuously builded by a man of no greater calling, was mockingly named "Fisher's Folly," and a rime hath beene lately made of it, and others the like (not farre off builded) in this manner.

Kirkebyes castle, and *Fishers* folly,
Spynnylas pleasure, and *Megses* glorie.

Citiz. Indeed, of such-like houses, builded by citizens, men will report their pleasures; but if I should speake of the true glorie of our citizens, Gresham house, with the Royall Exchange, builded by one man; Whittington Colledge, Newgate, part of Christchurch, by another, with divers other monuments, which I omit, as the charge of London bridge, builded at the first by two Sisters of Saint *Marie Overyes*, and such like; but of all other memorable deedes, maintained to this day by our citizens, there is three which deserve immortall commendations; the Orphants Court in Guild hall, where covetous executors are prevented, Christs Hospitall, where fatherlesse children are well brought up, and the prison of Bridewell, where vice is justly corrected.

Gent. Three things, in my minde, that your citizens winne heaven by. But for what offenders is that Bridewell chiefly reserved?

Citiz. For the persons, as vagabonds, and for those that are obstinate, and will not live in the feare of God, but abuse their bodies with lewd vices, as whoredome, and such like.

Gent. That place I thinke needlesse, sir, to speake of in these walkes : therefore I pray you shew me of the antiquitie of this Monasterie of *Bedlem*, where these two charitable sisters were buried.

Citiz. The Monasterie (now ruinated) was builded by their father, Sir *William Fines*, the chiefe owner of the rich farme of *Finesburie* house, the which to this day holds priviledges of good esteeme. Likewise, here in *Bedlem*, is now scituated an hospital for the cure of distracted people, which in former times, about the yeare 1246, was founded by *Simon Fitzmarie*, one of the sheriffes of London, of the same house and kindred, naming it the priory of Saint *Marie de Bethlem*, after the elder of the two sisters ; to which King *Edward* the third graunted a protection, but after, in the time of King *Henrie* the 8, in the beginning of his raigne, there was one Sir *Walter Gennings*, one of the Kings Chamber, who, being distract of his wits, got helpe in that place by the meanes of that holy Prior, in regard of which, King *Henrie*, at the suppression of this religious monasterie, gave it to the Citie for an hospitall for that use, the chappell whereof was taken downe in the

raigne of Queene *Elizabeth*, and houfes builded there by the Governors of Christs Hospitall in London ; and now, in this place, people that be diftract of wits are, by the fuite of their friends, received and kept, but not without charges to their bringers in.

Gent. Here is, fir, as it feems, a burying place, walled in with bricke, which furely is the devotion of fome charitable citizen ?

Citiz. It is, fir ; for in the yeare 1569, fir *Thomas Roe*, Marchant Taylor, and Maior of this Citie, caufed to be inclofed within this wall, about one akar of ground, being part of this Hospitall of the Hospitall of *Bethlem* : this he appointed for a burying place, as an eafe for fuch parifhes in London, as wanteth a convenient ground within their parifhes. The Ladie his wife was there buried (by whose perfwasions he enclosed it), but himfelf, borne in London, was buried at *Hackney*.

Gent. But now, fir, let us returne by the walke neere this ditch fide, where I am willing to underftand howe thofe fields came fo beautified, being, in times paff, as I have heard, a fen, or moorifh kinde of ground ?

Citiz. To begin firft, after it was given by thefe two fifters to this citie. I find that in the time of *William* the Conquerour it was continually in winter, as you fay, a great fen, or moore of water, ftretching

all along betwixt Cripple-gate and Bishops-gate ; but not in such good manner as it now doth, for all these whole fields of *Finsburie*, from Hollow-well to this place, was a waft and unprofitable ground a long time ; so that in the raigne of *Edward* the second, it was let to farme for foure markes by the yeare : but in the yeare 1415, the 3. yere of *Henrie* the fifth, *Thomas Falner*, Maior, caused the wall of the citie to bee broken toward this moore, and builded here the posterne, called Moore-gate, for the ease of the citizens to walk this way upon caufies (as was then) towards Islington, Hogfdon, and such like. Moreover, he caused the ditches of the citie, from Shore-ditch to Houndsditch, and so to this Mooreditch along by Bedlem, to bee newe cast, and clenfed ; by meanes whereof this fen, or moore, was greatly drayned and dried. So, shortly after it grew such hard ground, that *Ralph Josefelin*, Maior, for repaying the citie wall caused this moore to be searched for clay, and here in this place brick to be burnt.

Gent. But, sir, here is stones set upright : what is the meaning of them ?

Citiz. Marry, where they stand runnes underneath the common shore, from a spring called dame *Annis de Cleare*, called by the name of a rich London widow called *Annis Clare* ; who, matching her selfe with a riotous courtier in the time of *Edward* the

first, who vainely consumed all her wealth, and leaving her in much povertie, there drowned she her self, being then but a shallow ditch or running water, since which (as I said before) [it] runneth by sluces arched over, all along by these stones here standing : which sluces, or bridges, was made in the yere 1512, by Roger *Atchley*, Maior, who likewise caused the grounds to be leavelled, as they were this last yeare by Sir Leonard *Holliday*, maior, and the other worshipfull Aldermen his brethren ; whereby these fields were made something more commodious, but not so pleasant and drye as now they are, for many times they stood still full of noisome waters, which afterward, in the yeare 1527, was by the meanes of sir *Thomas Semor*, Maior, made dry ; who, repairing the sluces, convayed the sayd waters, over this towne ditch, into the course of Wall-brooke shoare, and so into the Thames : and by these degrees was this fen or moore at length made maine and hard ground, which before being overgrowne with flags, sedges, and rushes, served for no use : since the which time all the further and higher grounds, beyond *Finesbury* Court, have beene so heightned, with leastals and dung, that now three windmills are set thereon, the ditches being filled up, and the bridges overwhelmed.

Gen. But now, I pray you, let us walke backe againe to Moore gate, and go into this narrow lane

called the pofterne, betweene Moore-gate and Crippe-gate, becaufe it hath at either end a doore to be fhut in the night feafon.

Cit. This is a pofterne belonging to Crippe-gate, fo called long before the conqueft, only to keepe night-walkers out of the fubberbs : but now I have named Crippe-gate, I thinke it not amiffe to fhew the antiquity thereof, and why it was fo called at the firft.

Gen. That would I gladly underftand, for I have heard divers reports thereof.

Cit. I have read in the hiftory of *Edmond*, King of England, written by *John Lydgate*, monke of Berry, that when the Danes fpoiled part of his kingdome, a reverent bifhop of this land caufed y^e body of king *Edmond*, martyr, to be brought from S. *Edmonds* bury to London, in at Cripplegate, a place faid to be called of cripples begging ther, at which gate (it was faide) the body entering, miracles were wrought, as fome of the lame to goe away, praying God. This gate was fometimes a prifon, whereunto fuch cittizens and others as were arefted for debt, or common trefpaffes, were committed, as they be now to the Counters. This gate was new builded by the Brewers of London, 1244.

Gent. This hath much contented my defires, and confidering it is yet far to night, I will request you

to turne back into the walkes, and there to discourse of further antiquities.

Citiz. With all my heart, fir : I cannot spend my time better.

Gent. Then, I pray you, tell what course (fir) hath this common shoare thorough the Citty into the Thames ?

Citiz. This Citty in old time (as I finde it recorded) was devided, the one halfe from the other, which is east from west, by a faire brooke of sweete water, which ran from these fields thorough this wal into the river of Thamse, which division to this day is maintained without charge, which water is called *Wall-brook*. The course from hence runneth directly first to Saint *Margrets* Church in *Loathbury*, from thence, from the lower part of Grocers hall, about the east of their kitchin, under Saint *Mildreds* Church, somewhat west from the Stockes Market ; from thence, thorough *Bucklers-bury*, by a great house built of stone and timber, called the old Barge, because in times past, barges out of the Thames were rowed up so far into this brooke, on the backside of the houses on *Wall-brooke* streete, which streete taketh the name of this faide brooke : then, by the west end of Saint *Johns* church upon *Wall-brooke*, under Horshoe bridge, by the west side of Tallow Chandlers hall, and of the Skinners hall, and

fo, behinde the other houfes, to Elbow lane, and by a part thereof downe Greenwich lane into the river of Thames : this is the right courfe of this water, which of olde time was bridged over in divers places, for paffage of horfes and men, as need required ; but fince, by y^e means of increafement on the bankes thereof, much annoyances bee done therein. But at length the fame, by a common confent of this Citty, was arched over with brick, and paved with ftone, equall with the ground, whence it paffed thorough, and is now in moft places builded upon, that no man may deferne it, and therefore the trace thereof is hardly known to the common fort of people.

Gen. Now, I pray you, let me know how this vaute or river is made cleane, confidering fo much channell durt runnes therein ?

Citi. Where thefe ftones ftand, as I faid before, there is a long hollow cefterne or shoare arched over, reaching into the citty, into the which once a yeare, as it is the cuftome of our Citty to fee it made cleane, there entereth divers labouring men, with links and torches lighted, with a taber and a pipe or other fuch mellody, that the merchants, whose vautes and houfes of offices ftand over, may hear them, and by fuch meanes they may know what is amiffe, and wanteth mending : and ftill when this bufines is effecting, the owners of thofe houfes fpare not for

coft, which they give downe at the grates as they paffe along.

Gent. This is a good order, and an encouragement to fuch an intricate bufineffe. But to let that paffe, and fhew me the antiquity of your Aldermens going to the fermons to the Spittle, neare Shoreditch, in Eaſter weeke, which in my mind is a moſt memorable cuſtome.

Citi. Firſt, to fhew you the firſt antiquity thereof, that place was in times paſt an hoſpittall, commonly called Saint *Mary* Spittle, builded by *Water Browne*, deane of *Paules*, in the yeere 1197, firſt named by him *Domus Dei*; but at the ſuppreſſion of abbies being ſurrendred to King Henry the eighth, it was valued to bee worth yeerely 478 pound, wherein was found (beſides the ornaments of the church, and other goods belonging to the hoſpital) a hundred and foureſcore beds, well furniſhed for the receate of poore people, for it was an hoſpittall of great releefe. But now, touching the cuſtome why three ſermons be made there in the three holydayes of Eaſter weeke, I finde that in the yeare 1398, King *Richard*, having procured from *Rome* confirmation of ſuch ſtatutes and ordinances as were made in the Parliament begun at *Weſtminſter* and ended at *Shrewsbury*, he cauſed the ſame confirmation to bee read and pronounced at *Paules* Croſſe, and at Saint *Mary* Spittle,

in the Sermons, before al the people. *Phillip* Malpas, one of the Shriefes in the year 1439, gave twenty shillings by the yeere, to the three preachers at the Spittle. *Steven Foster*, Mayor in the yeare 1454, gave forty poundes to the preachers at the Spittle and *Paules* Crosse: I find also that the said house, wherein the Mayor and Aldermen doe sit at the Spittle, was builded for that purpose, of the goods, and by the executors of *Richard Rawson*, Alderman, and *Isabell* his wife, in the yeare 1488. Likewise in the yeare 1595, the pulpit being olde, was taken downe, and a new set up, the preachers face turned toward the south, which was before towards the west. Also a large house, on the east side of the said pulpit, was then builded for the governors and children of Christes Hospitall to sit in; and this was done of the goods of *William Elkins*, Alderman, lately deceased; but within the first yeare the same house decaying, and like to have fallen, was againe with great cost repared at the Cittyes charge.

And now heere is to bee noted that, time out of mind, it hath beene, and is, a lawdable custome in London, that on good Fryday, in the after-noone, some especiall learned man, by appointment of the Bishops, hath preached a sermon at *Paules* Crosse, treating of Christes passion: and uppon the three next Easter Hollydaies, Monday, Tuesday, and

Wednesday, the like learned men, by the like appointment, have used to preach on the fore-noones at the faide Spittle, to the same effect; and then, on low funday, one other learned man at *Paules* Crosse to make rehearsal of those foure former sermons, either commending or reproofing them, as to him, by the judgement of the learned divines, was thought convenient; and that done, he was to make a sermon of his owne study, which in all were five sermons in one. At these sermons, so severally preached, the Mayor with his brethren the Aldermen are accustomed to be present, in their violet gownes at *Paules* on good Fryday, and in their scarlet gownes at the Spittle upon Monday, and Tuesday; on the Wednesday in their violets, and on Low Sunday in their scarlets againe at *Paules* Crosse, which is used to this day.

Gent. These are lawdable customes: but have your Aldermen no place to sit in at the Spittle, if it should chance to raine?

Cit. There is provided for the Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffes, a faire house of two stories hie to sit in; and in the loft over them, where the Bishoppe of London and other prelates were wont to sit, now stand the ladies and Aldermens wives in a faire window, where they may likewise sit at their pleasure. And this is all the antiquity that I ever read of the

Spittle Sermons. And now (fir) confidering the tediousnes of this my long difcourfe, I will revive you with a few verfes, writ in the honour of London.

Londons Description.

The famous off-fpring of downe raced Troy,
King *Brute*, the conqueror of giants fell,
Built London firft, thefe manfions towers of joy,
As all the fpacious world may witneffe well:
Even he it was, whofe glory more to vaunt,
From burned Troy furnamed this Troynovant.

This name, if that antiquities prove true,
Full many yeares in majefty fhe bore,
Till princely *Lud* did chriften her anew,
And changd her name from that it was before.
So kingly *Lud* did fhape a fecond frame,
And called this *Luds* Towne by his princely name.

Luds-towne it was, and yet is tearmed fo,
But that for briefeneffe, and for pleafant found,
Few letters of that name it doth forgoe, [towne.
And London now, which was once called Luds-
Thus *Brute* and *Lud* Londons parents were,
Since fostered up by many a royall peere.

But since that time five conquests have infewd,
And all, save one, beene glutted with red goare ;
Yet nere were London streets with bloud imbrewd,
Yet still retaind the state it held before :

Such was her beauty, and the victors pittie, [citty.
That spard their fwords from spoyling this faire

From her first founders thus hath she increafed,
Favord of those the Diadem advanced ;
Scarce with their deaths their large divisions ceased,
Yet by their deaths her better fortunes chanced :
As one gave place, and left what he intended,
The next successor what he found amended.

One famous king, this citty doth indew
With wished freedoms, and innimities ;
The next confirms, augmenting it with new,
And grants more large and ample liberties :
And thus faire Londons members strongly knitteth,
When kings adorne what fame and honor fitteth.

From *Lud* unto King *James* thus London fared,
Sacred Monarche, Emperour of the West,
To whom the world yeeldes none to be compared !
By Londons love thou art heere earthly blest,
Mirror of mankind, each lands admiration,
The worlds wonder, heavens true contemplation !

Long mayst thou live faire Londons wished blisse,
 Long mayst thou raigne great *Britaines* happineffe!
 Live, raigne, and be when there no being is,
 Triumphant over all that with thee lesse,
 In earth ador'd with glorie and renowne,
 In heaven adorned with an Angels crowne!

Of Londons pride I will not boast upon,
 Her gold, her silver, and her ornaments,
 Her gems and jewels, pearles, and precious stones,
 Her furniture, and rich habilliments,
 Her cloth of silver, tiffue, and of gold,
 Which in her shops men dayly may behold.

What mynes of gold the Indian soyle doth nourish
 Within the secrets of her fruitfull wombe,
 London partakes it, and doth dayly flourish,
 Ordayn'd thereto by heaven, and heavenly doome:
 All forraine lands whome majestie doth moove,
 Doe still contend to grace her with their love.

What Civill, Spaine, or Portugall affordeth,
 What Fraunce, what Flaunders, or what Germanie,
 What Creet, what Scicile, or what Naples hoordeth,
 The coasts of Turkie, or of Barbarie,
 The boundlesse seas to London walles presenteth,
 Through which all Englands state she much aug-
 menteth.

If Rome by Tiber substance doth attaine,
Or Euphrates to Babylon brings plentie,
If golden Ganges Egypt fills with gaine,
The Thames of London surely is not emptie :
Her flowing channell powreth forth much profit
For Londons good, yet few knowes what comes
of it.

Thus by the bounty of imperious mindes,
Furthered by nature with a noble flood,
Proud wealth and welthy pride brave London findes,
Nor wants she not, that bringes her gaine and good :
Within her walles there lyeth close concealed,
That wealth by tongues can hardly be revealed.

London hath likewise foure tearmes of law most fit,
The foure fould yeare in equall parts deuide,
In which the Judges of the law do fit,
Depending matters justly to decide ; [cause,
The poore mans plaint, and eke the rich mans
And sentence given by righteous dooming lawes.

First of the foure fresh spring doth intertaine,
The second is in sweating summer plaszt,
The third with windy harvest doth remaine,
And freezing winter doth delight the last :
When these times come, and courts of law unlocke,
Tis strange to marke how men to London flocke.

These be the bees by which my being is,
 England the orchard, London is the hive,
 Their toyle her triumph, and their fruit her bliffe ;
 When most they labour, London most doth thrive :
 The lofty courtyor, and the country clowne,
 By their expence brings London rich renowne.

And thus from all fides doth much substance flow,
 By Thames, by tearmes, by sea, and by the land ;
 So rich a masse whole kingdomes cannot shew :
 In this estate faire London still doth stand,
 Foure-pillar tearmes, and Thames be the fift,
 Which tane away, then farewell Londons thrift.

Gent. By these verses, sir, you have highly honored your citty, and no doubt but therein have bin many worthy citizens, which hath thus brought her glorie to this height.

Cit. The citty of it selfe, sir, is the most noble, populous, and richest in all the land ; for it is most glorious in manhoode, furnished with munitions, in-fomuch as in the troublesome time of King Stephen, (when it was not halfe so populous) it hath shewed at a muster twenty thousand armed horse-men, and three-score thousand foote men, serviceable for the wars. Moreover, the cittizens hereof, wheresoever they become, bee regarded before all other citizens,

both for civilitie of manners, attire, companie, and talke. The women, or rather matrons, of this citie resemble the verie modeſt Sabine Ladies of *Italy*.

Gent. Now, I pray you, ſir, diſcourſe the gallant minds of ſome of your citizens in times paſt; for I have ſeene many records of them, and ſuch as bee moſt memorable.

[Cit.] *Henrie Picard*, Maior, 1357 did in one day ſumptuouſly feaſt at his owne charge 4 kings, 3 princes, and one queene: which was *Edward* the third King of England, *John* King of Fraunce, *David* King of Scots, and the King of Cypreſſe, then all in England; the blacke Prince, his Princeſſe, and the Dolphin Prince of France, with many other noble men, and kept his hall open for all commers to revell and dice in.

John Barnes, Maior, 1371, gave a cheſt with three locks, and a thouſand markes therein, to the Citie, to be lent to young men upon ſufficient ſuertie, or upon pawne.

John Philpot, Maior, 1378, hiered at his owne charge 1000 foldiers, to defend the land from the incurſion of the enemie; ſo in ſhort time his hiered men tooke many ſea rovers, with fifteen Spaniſh ſhips laden with great riches.

William Walworth, Mayor 1381, moſt valiantly, with his owne hand, ſlew the rebell *Wat Tyler*, for

which hee was knighted in the field, and the bloody dagger given to Londons armes, to his great honour and praife.

Richard Whittington, three times Maior, in the yeare 1421 began the Schoole of Christs Church in London: he builded *Whittington* Colledge, with Almes houfes for 13 poore men, and divine lectures to be read there for ever: he repaired Saint *Bartholomewes* Hospitall in Smith-field; he glazed and paved part of Guild-hall; hee builded the west gate of London called Newgate.

John Allen, Mercer, Maior of London, one of the Councill to King *Henrie* the Eight: he deceased 1544, and he was buried at Saint *Thomas* of *Achars*, in a faire chappel by him builded: he gave to the Citie of London a rich collar of gold, to be worne by the Lord Maior for ever; hee gave 500*li.* to be a stock for sea-coale for the Citie, his lands purchased of the King, the rent thereof to be given to the poore in the wards of London for ever. He gave, besides, to prisons, hospitals, lazer-houfes, and all other poore in the Citie, or two miles about, verie liberally, too long to be recited.

Sir *Thomas Gresham*, Mercer, 1566, builded the Royall Exchange in London, and by his testament left his dwelling-houfe in Bishops-gate streete, to be a place for readings of the seven liberall sciences,

allowing large stipends to the readers, and certaine Almes houses for the poore.

Thus have I made a brieve of some of our worthy Citizens, and their charitable actions, some done in their lives, the rest left to their executors. I have heard some of them hardly (or never) performed; wherefore I wish men to make their owne hands their executors, and their eyes their overseers, not forgetting this old and true proverb,

Women be forgetfull, children be unkinde,
Executors covetous, and take what they finde :
If any one aske where the legacies became ?
They answere, so God helpe me, he died a poore man.

There is now living one Master *Dove*, a Marchant-taylor, having many yeares considered this old proverbe, hath therefore established in his life time to twelve aged men, Marchant-tailors, 6 pounds 2 shillings, to each yerely for ever: he hath also given them gownes of good brode cloth, lined throughout with bayes; and are to receive, at everie three yeres end, the like gownes for ever. He likewise, in charitie, at Saint Sepulchres Church without Newgate, allowes y^e great bell on every execution day to be toled, till the condemned prisoners have suffered death; and also a small hand-bell to be rung at mid-

night under Newgate, the night after their condemnation, and the next morning at the church wall, with a prayer to be fayd touching their falvation; and for the maintayning thereof, he hath given to Saint Sepulchers a certaine fumme of money for ever.

Gent. This is my minde; it is a charitable devotion, and deserves eternall praise. I have much beene delighted, not only in these your walkes, but also in your pleasant discourfes, which now we are forced to end, by reason of the night drawing on. Therefore, I humbly take my leave.

FINIS.

INTRODUCTION.

ONLY two copies of the succeeding tract are known. Whether the pirates, whose names follow the three separate productions, were really the writers of them may be more than doubted: it is most probable that the incident of the trial and threatened execution of the men attracted so much attention that Wolfe, the printer, induced some popular writer to compose the pieces: as well as we can judge from the style, they were all from the same pen. There is no date upon the title-page, but we may be quite sure that it belongs to the year 1583, because old faithful Stow in his "Annals" (p. 1175, edit. 1605) mentions the incident of the hanging of ten pirates at Wapping, including Walton and Clinton, on 30th August in that year.

We are not aware that the guilty parties figure in any other existing record of the time; and we know nothing of their history beyond their capture by "Will. Borough and his company," excepting from such hints as they give of their own actions. Two of them, Walton (*alias* Purser, probably from his office on board some ship), and Clinton, figure in T. Heywood's and W. Rowley's "Fortune by Land and Sea," a play not printed until 1655, but most likely written before the death of Queen Elizabeth: in

act v, sc. 2, they are led out to execution for having spoiled a ship of Exeter, and drowned the supercargo ; but of the third offender, Arnold, we do not there hear, nor in Stow, and we may therefore hope that he obtained a reprieve : his case, according to his own account, was a hard one, and possibly it had some influence on the decision which may have saved the life of an old man. The author of an essay in " The Shakespeare Society's Papers," III, p. 7, concludes, rather hastily, that Arnold was also executed ; but the evidence, such as it is, is the other way. At the time the verses were written all three prisoners had been condemned, but not executed, and the author does not appear to have known the Christian names of two of them : he merely calls them Arnold and Clinton.

What we have here reprinted was, no doubt, originally hawked about the streets of the metropolis : it was offered for sale as a two-penny tract, instead of a penny broadside.

J. P. C.

Clinton, Purser, & Arnold

To their Countrey-men wheresoeber.

Wherein is described by their own hands their
unfeigned penitence for their offences past : their
patience in welcoming their Death, and
their duetiful minds towards her
most excellent
Majestie.



L O N D O N.

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the middle shop in the Poultry, joyning
to S. Mildredes Church.

[WALTON, *ALIAS* PURSER, TO HIS
COUNTRYMEN.]

LORDINGES, that list to heare a dreery tale
 where every comma showes a corosive,
Set mirth apart, and strike your pleasant faile :
 my fighēs may serve your loaden barks to drive
 alongst the shore where forrowes ships arrive,
Whose case is such as when you shall have scand,
Say as you see, and fet my fighes on land.

Not long since, then, I held a haplesse Shippe,
 precisely riggd, and furnisht for the nones ;
Whome nothing craz'd, till Fortune gan to trippe,
 and dasht my state so stifly gainst the stones,
 as brake my barke, and brused all my bones :
But if I say my sinne deserv'd the fame,
In telling truth I merite meaner blame.

When red as bloud the horizon appear'd
 about the doore which letteth forth the day,
And when the morne the mist had scarce ycleerd,
 amidst the seas we furrowed forth our way,

with hope before that harbored our decay.
But who too late preventes alluring charmes,
With us too soone shall sorrow for his harmes.

Two lofty faile from out the lovely East
it was our hap unhappy to descry :
I wish they had bene further in the West
when gracelesse we to greet them came so nie ;
But who fares well whome Fortune doth defie ?
We stoupt, we strake, and vaild when we had seene
The Armes of England, and our noble Queene.

We knew the lion would not hurt the lambe,
it was not feare that forc'd us to be faint ;
From hoater broyles too late we victors came :
to know our frendes we never made it quaint ;
when we gan yeeld there needed no constraint,
For both my conscience and my God can tell,
I ever wisht my Queene and country well.

But yet eftsoones we at her mercy are
for life or death, as God and she shall please.
These be the notes that make my musicke jarre,
these be the cliffes, to wit, my want of ease ;
these be the sorrowes which succeede the seas ;
This is the comma and the corrosive too,
That urge me more then some suppose they doe.

And therefore fith you fee our cafe is fuch,
it fhall not hurt to lend us your lament.
Though evill tongues abufe us ner fo much,
imagining untruthes of our entent,
there is a God can their defpight prevent.
What though the weake be driven to the wall,
Tis foule to triumph in an others fall.

I holpe the helpeleffe, but it was my worft :
good countreyemen, with conscience way my cafe :
In deede I fhот, but they difcharged firft :
how could I choofe but take it in difgrace,
when they fo fierce defide me to my face ?
Admit I flew a marchant by my fhот ;
Good frends, forgive me, for I wifht it not.

For if I had, I might have harmd them more
then I or did, or deigned to defire ;
But th' Englifh ftill I lov'd on fea or fhore,
though they return'd me hatred for my hire :
when I am dead they have what they require.
Yet I forget, forgive, and pardon thofe
Whome I befriended to become my foes.

But fome could fay, as fecret as they feeme,
through our fupportes fome perils they had paff ;
But ftroken downe who dares of us efteme ?

they flie not now, but they have faund as fast,
when forren foes had made them all agast :
When they have crept and croucht to us for aide,
Like harmeleffe birdes, whome falcones make afraid.

When even the Purser, with his peece on poope,
in steede of Captaine carefully hath stooode
In their defence to make the stallants stoope ;
but his reward is wandred to the wood,
and they forget that ere he did them good :
But were they now as weake as erst they were,
Then would they with the silly Purser there.

Some faithleffe French are pleasd to see, perhaps,
that his good will hath wrought him this reward ;
Clapping his hands to heare of his mishaps,
which had his realme and rightes in such regard,
and bet them backe that els yourmartes had mard :
But looke abroad, have care unto your roades,
And cleanse your coastes of such unseemely toades.

As for my felfe, I owe a due to death,
and I respect it not in that I die,
Onely the manner of my losse of breath
is cause that I for some compassion cry :
my soule is fav'd, where ere my body lie.
This makes me sigh, that faith unto my frend
Hath brought me thus to this untimely end.

THOMAS WALTON *alias* PURSER.

ARNOLD TO HIS COUNTREYMEN.

Ne in furore, oh my ſoveraigne God !
reprove me not in wrath I thee deſire.
Let it ſuffice that with thy gracious rod
I meekely take my death (of finne the hire) :
no fleſh may ſtand in thy conſuming ire.
I aſke no more, ſo thou my finnes forgive :
Tis one to me if I do dy or live.

What els is life but as a ſonny day
which every cloude diſcoloureth and o'rcaſtes ?
What els is life, but as we uſe to fay,
the more agreev'd the longer that it laſts ?
what els is life, but like to ſodaine blaſts ?
What els is life but, being good or ill,
The very meanes our foules to ſave or ſpill.

Then, lovely friendes, and ſuch whoſe hap ſhalbe
to heare or read the tenor of my tale,
As you have cauſe, conjecture ſo of me,
whoſe bliſſefſe life was never free from bale :
twere vaine thus late to ſet my ſelfe to ſale.
Ile ſay the ſooth, as God ſhall make me able,
For condemnd men have little cauſe to fable.

First, then, suppose that you in presence see
an aged man, of no great personage,
Yet of a minde, as many others bee,
more nobly bent then seemed by mine age :
who mongst the thickest thrust unto the stage,
To breath abroad from my constrained breast
The smoaky reekes of mine extreame unrest.

Arnold, I hight ; by birth a gentleman
of honest parents, and in Hamshire borne,
Well left to live, when haplesse I began
in th' Irish bogges a foldier to be sworne :
howbeit a Priest was cause of all my scorne,
A worthlesse Priest, a Priest of such despite,
As shadoweth that which should have given us light.

This spitefull Priest, too rough in his revenge,
as one that fought to keepe me under awe,
My scarcefull purse not prelatelike did clenge
by busy sute, wherein I was too rawe,
as seemed by the lurch I got by law :
Whose lewde demurs to lengthen out their fees,
Consumde my furies and clapt me up in freeze.

This made me first to set my farmes to sale,
this drove poore Arnall out of house and home,
When I, as rich as he that begs his ale,

amongſt my friendes enforced was to rome ;
but friendes are fendes when friendship ſhould be
ſhone :

For when my cauſe they thoroughly underſtood,
They ſaid they greev'd, but could do me no good.

What reſted then, when this outrageous Prieſt
had wrackt me thus that never did him wrong ?
What reſted then, when fees my coyne had fled,
that reſt my friendes in whome I hopt ſo long ?
nought, as I ſaw, but even to ſing this ſong :
From ſuch bad Prieſtes, law, bribes, and friendes *ſang*
Deliver all good men, poore Arnold faith. [faith,

After a while, though band with bell and booke,
by God and mine endeavor I obtaind
A filly barke, and to the ſeas betooke
the crazed bones wherein ſuch ſorrow raignd ;
but ſoone I loſt what I ſo ſlightly gaind.
My barke was ſpoyld, and I on ſhore was ſet,
For ſpitefull hap to playne me better yet.

Strife, ſorrow, cold, and many a care,
gan urge me now as fiercely as before ;
But as the ſubtill flyly flick their ware,
in hope to pryſe their marchandies the more,
not recking wrong ſo they increaſe their ſtore,

So Fortune chose to use her finest charme,
When, foorth to say, she fought my greatest harme.

For after this, upon our English coast,
from Frenchmen there a pinnace Purser tooke,
Of whose brave courage Brittain well might boast,
if so they list in his employtes to looke :
but idle ease can no adventures brooke.
Purser on me this pinnace straight bestowde,
Which wrought my paine, and yet his pitie showde.

Hence grew my griefe, here gan my bale abound,
this was the path that led me forth to paine :
There ran the sea which my decay did found ;
thence came the cause that queld me once againe.
and yet of Purser can I not complaine :
He franckly gave what I too freely usde ;
Then blame not him, for I his giftes abusde.

On seas I met a sort of faithles French,
that through a leake their ship had welny lost ;
But I in pittie fought the same to stench,
for which good deed they bad me fare wel frost.
a tunne of coales, nought els, my labour cost :
These coales by law the jury did convert
To such a case as cooles me at the hart.

Short tale to make, of force I muſt confeſſe
my God my life no longer would deferre.
My prince, diſpleaſde that I did ſo digreſſe,
to warne the reſt that otherwiſe might erre,
to cut me off it alſo pleaſed her:
Yet lives he not that can in conſcience ſay,
Purſer or Arnold made one Engliſh praye.

But we abuſde our Princes league and law,
through which, in deed, we did deſerve to dye;
For if we live not under ſoveraigne awe,
but ſenceleſſe ſeeke our own ſecuritie,
the publike weale would periſh preſently.
As for my ſelfe, as bitter as it is,
Welcome, ſweete Death, for I have done amis!

This onely reſtes, that my example charme
all other men hereafter to beware,
For feare themſelves incurre as great a harme,
as we whoſe proofes of ſuch importance are.
let rage and rigor mongſt Devines be rare,
For God he knowes that his extremitie
Was onely cauſe of my fiſt miſerie.

He brocht my bale, but his abode in lawes
conſumde my ſelfe, and ſoakte my ſubſtance drye,
No other like when men will ſtrive for ſtrawes,

which (though he caus'd) yet I forgive him, I,
and quietly I am content to dye.
Farewell, vaine world, with thine aluring shoves,
And welcome, Death, the end of all my woes !

FINIS. ARNOLD.

CLINTON TO HIS COUNTRY MEN.

AMONGST the most, not least in his laments,
give Clinton leave to waile his inward woes,
Whose fore mishap, whose sharpe and hard events,
sufficient method for his matter shoves ;
but who can alter what the Heavens dispose ?
Let mortall men determine what they list,
The heavenly powers their purpose can resist.

Then mourne with me the stay of vaine estate,
whose brickle steps are slippery and unsure.
What though proude Fortune puffed up with hate,
untimely thus my timeles end procure,
I recke her not, her rage can not endure :
Her greatest triumph I esteeme as toyes,
For why, my hope disharbors mine annoy.

Though not my power, yet may my piteous plaintes
without offence be thrust amongst the rest.

Alas, my Lordings, what ? they are not faintes :
is sinne unseene because it is supprest ?

no, God doth search the secretes of the brest ;
And surely such are more then most unwise
That thinke sinne safe, not seene with mortall eyes.

The bushie wood, the grove, th' obscured hurst,
the secret cave, the furing furrowed feas,
Whereon to venture I too ventrous durst,
as now I feele unto my want of ease, [please.
lie plaine as plats when th' heavenly power shal
No ship so swift their speedy passage make,
But with a trice he can them over take.

Welth, worldly wit, ambition, or renowe,
nor ought on earth so permanent abides,
But fickle Fortune sometime puls them down :
so vaine we are, so foone our honor slides,
so truffles she whose mirth to mischief glydes.
Our paines endure, our pleasures are but short ;
But what avails the heedlesse to exhorte ?

My selfe, sometime not least in Fortunes love,
may best give instance of her great disgrace,
Which whilom livde amidst the heave and thove,

and mongst the proudest gaind the chiefeſt place,
till truſtleſſe ſhe gan turne away her face ;
Till ſhe (too ſharpe) returnd me checke and mate,
And topſide turvey turned mine eſtate.

Befides my ſelfe who bore ſo brave a ſway ?
who raigned more then I that ruld the roaſt ?
Who durſt reſiſt if I did him gainſay ?
and boldly be it ſpoke, withouten boaſt,
who more then Clinton ſcowrd in every coaſt ?
Who holpe the helpleſſe more (ſay what they ſhall)
Then Clinton did that came at every call ?

A world to ſee how wretched tongues are bent
to thunder forth the fables which they faine ;
Who with their lewde illuſions ſo content,
they blaze abroad what commeth in their braine,
when (God he knowes) they wot not what they
ſayen,
Condemning Clinton for the crueleſt rover
That ever faild ſea, and yet their monthes run over.

Yet ſuch they are as worke my preſent woe,
as unacquainted with my better deedes ;
And I have reſcued many as they know,
but my good workes are choaked up with weedes,
ſuch kankered malice their ſuppoſes feedes.

The Londoners, whereof I neede not boast,
Regarde me least whome I have favoured most.

But who can cure so venomous a fore
as slaunders forge in credulous conceates ?
My nommed hart, that frozen was before,
for thought of this amidst my sorrowes sweates.
Their false report like rust my credit eates ;
Their double tongues, although they do me wrong,
Are onely cause I sing this swanlike song.

Poore I, that sought to pleasure each opprest,
poore I that sought to cure anothers paine,
Poore I, that watcht when others tooke their rest,
poore I, that did my countries cause maintaine,
poore I that fav'd must now my selfe be slaine ;
Poore I, that wisht my Queene and countries welth,
Am now supprest, but hope upholdes my helth.

Then, give me leave to breath abroad my moanes,
whose life or death my Prince may take or give ;
And though they stand like stockes and sensles stones,
whome I have holpe whilst I in hap did live,
and sooner might have fild an emptie five :
The time hath bene when they to please me prest,
But now they dare not, cause I am distrest.

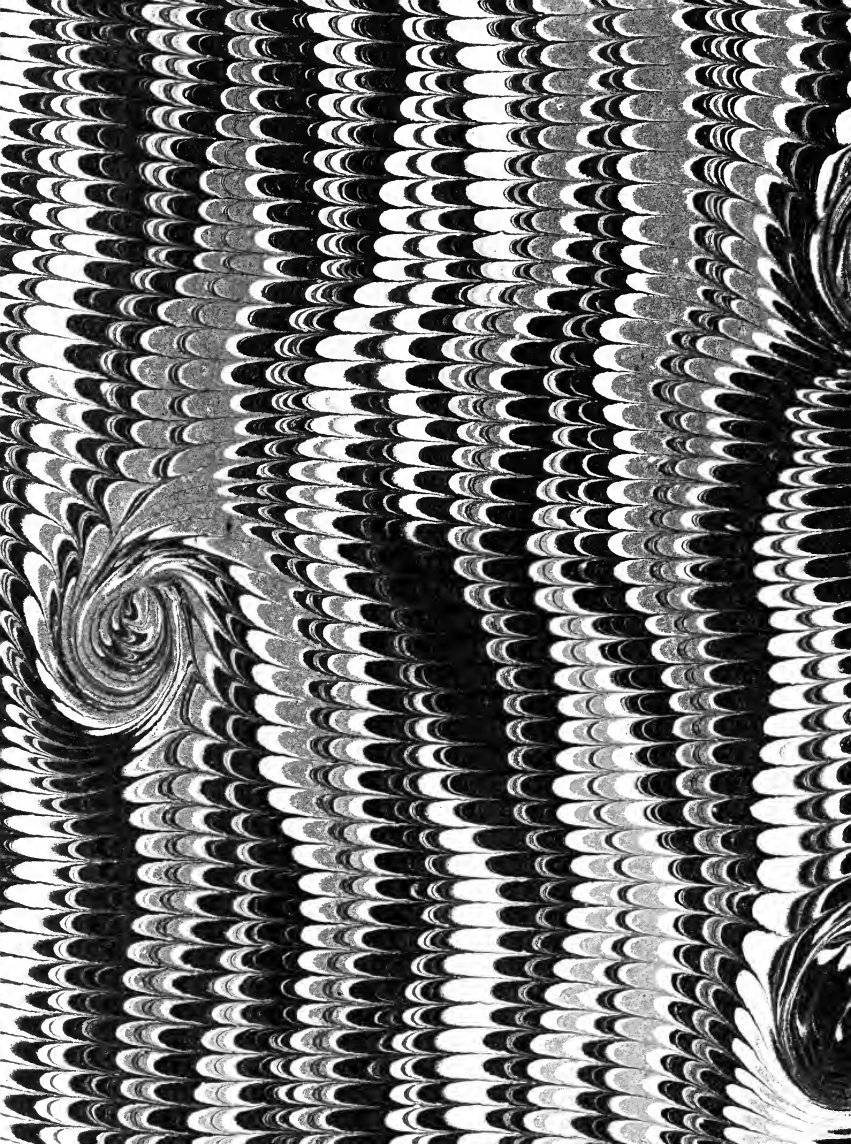
Who more my foes then whome I pleased most ?
who seeke my life but such as plaine of peace ?
Who digge my grave, who persecute my ghost,
who to procure my ruine sooner please,
then hate and flander coupled in a lease ?
But God is just, and he in mercy will
Forgive my sins, and plague them for their ill.

Loe ! Lordings, thus I leave my last adue
for you to scan what ere of me become.
Twere vaine for me to tell that were untrue ;
you may believe what I herein have done :
my paine is past though yet my glasse doth runne.
This grieves me most, that many a poore man lackes
The gelt that I have given the fea by fackes.

FINIS.

CLINTON.





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